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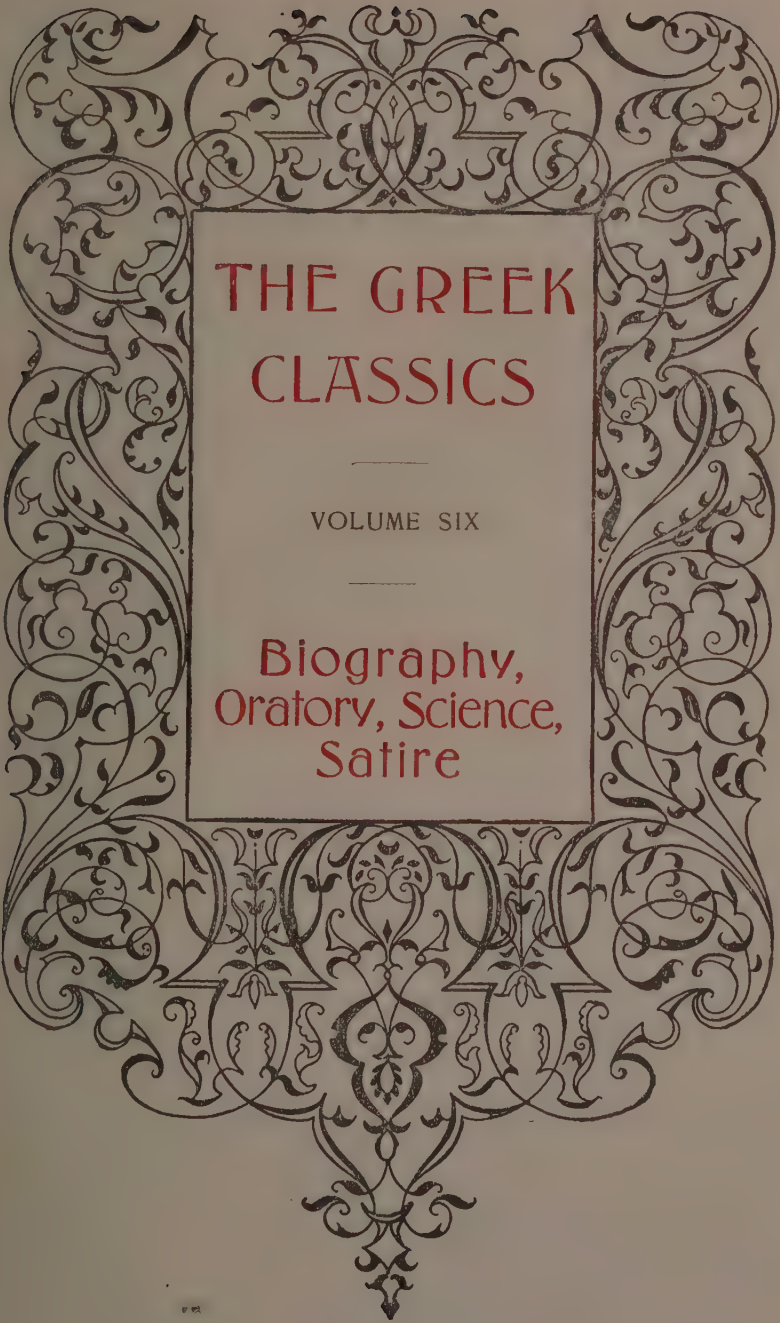
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THE GREEK CLASSICS

VOLUME SIX

Biography,
Oratory, Science,
Satire

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION :		PAGE
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK ORATORY		13
By Martin Luther D'Ooge, Ph.D., LL.D., D.Litt., Professor of Greek in the University of Michigan		
INTRODUCTION :		
THE TEN GREAT GREEK ORATORS		17
PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO :		
Translated by Sir Thomas North from the French Translation of Jacques Amyot		
TO THE READERS [LIFE OF PLUTARCH]		27
By Jacques Amyot		
TO THE READER		30
By Sir Thomas North		
THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES		32
THE LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO		63
THE COMPARISON OF CICERO WITH DEMOSTHENES		114
INTRODUCTION :		
THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ISOCRATES		121
By J. H. Freese, M.A., of Cambridge University		
THE PANEGYRICUS OF ISOCRATES :		
Translated by J. H. Freese, M.A., of Cambridge University		
		134
THE DEBATE OF ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN :		
Translated by Thomas Leland, D.D., of Oxford University, with an Introduction by the Same		
INTRODUCTION		185
THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON		190
THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN		267

WORKS OF HIPPOCRATES:

PAGE

Translated by Francis Adams, LL.D., Surgeon, with
an Introduction by the Same

INTRODUCTION: THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HIPPOCRATES 359

ON ANCIENT MEDICINE 371

THE OATH 389

INTRODUCTION:

LIFE OF STRABO, AND SUMMARY OF HIS HISTORY . . . 395

By W. Falconer, M.A., of Oxford University

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, BY STRABO:

Translated by H. C. Hamilton, Esq. 407

THE DIALOGUES OF LUCIAN:

Translated by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A.,
with an Introduction by the Same

INTRODUCTION: LUCIAN, THE ICONOCLAST . . . 427

DIALOGUES OF THE GODS 434

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD 440

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
DEMOSTHENES PRACTISING BY THE SEA Frontispiece	
From a painting by Jules J. A. Lecomte-du-Nouy	
INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION OF A GREEK YOUTH 124	
From a portion of a painting by Meyer, showing Socrates and Plato with friends and disciples	
PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF A GREEK YOUTH 294	
From a portion of a painting by Meyer, showing Socrates and Plato with friends and disciples	

INTRODUCTIONS

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK ORATORY

BY MARTIN LUTHER D'OOGHE, PH.D., LL.D., D.LITT.

Professor of Greek in the University of Michigan



REEK oratory was the outgrowth of the intellectual awakening that Athens experienced after the Persian wars, when the art of speaking came to be especially valued as a means of political influence. The teaching of this art was the profession of the Sophists, who naturally modelled their prose upon verse, since up to their time the presumption existed that no thought could be expressed artistically that was not put in metrical form. Under this impulse Greek oratory was cultivated as one of the fine arts, like sculpture and painting, to which it was often likened, and its external form and style always remained of supreme importance.

We look therefore in the original of a Greek oration for minute matters of style and niceties of diction that a modern orator would scantily regard. As such may be mentioned the balancing of clauses, the structure of sentences of equal length, the repetition of sounds at the turning point of corresponding phrases so as to suggest an echo from other words, the avoidance of hiatus between a closing and an initial vowel of two consecutive words, and the arrangement of words in a sentence so as to secure a certain rhythm and harmony. It is manifest that such minute and fine points of style cannot be reproduced in any translation. An undue attention to these refinements might easily become an artificial mannerism. Such mannerism was characteristic of the style of one of the earliest Sophists and teachers of rhetoric, Gorgias of Leontini, who put his stamp upon Greek prose writing for all time.

The entire history of Greek oratory may be called a development from this artificial prose to a more artless and simple style, which later again became debased by the

influence of rhetoric, and degenerated into the florid style that characterized the later Sophists.

In a brief sketch it is possible to note only the most signal steps in this process. The artificial manner of a Gorgias was soon felt to be unsuitable for a pleading at law, and the first impulse to use a more simple and natural style came from forensic speaking.

This appears clearly first in the orations of Andocides, in which are found vivid and picturesque narrations. But the merit of naturalness and ease mingled with grace belongs especially to Lysias, who excelled as a writer of speeches for others to recite in making their pleas in court. The logographer, as he was called, concealed himself behind his client, who was generally a plain citizen, and so played the part of a dramatic poet: like a Euripides he had to identify himself with the person who appeared on the scene. The aim of the orator was accordingly to appear as simple and natural as possible, and to conceal his art. Lysias employed therefore a simple style, short sentences, and a periodic structure that was clear and harmonious.

The more ornate and artificial style of Gorgias, chastened but not subdued, came into prominence again in the hands of Isocrates, who was essentially a Rhetorician. While Isocrates, like Lysias, wrote in the language of the people, he cultivated the ornate and declamatory style suitable for public celebrations and festive occasions. The best example of an oration of this kind, called by the Greeks the epideictic style, is his famous Panegyric, which, like all his didactic and epideictic speeches, was written to be read and not spoken, and should therefore be called a political essay or pamphlet. Isocrates was the inventor of the long oratorical period, which is so skilfully constructed that all subordinate ideas are grouped around the central thought which is never obscured. He was excessively fond of appealing to the ear by the flow of his diction and the stately rhythm of his periods. The influence of Isocrates on Greek prose writing was lasting and great.

It was reserved for Demosthenes, by means of the severest self-discipline and most arduous labor, to combine the grace of Lysias with the logical grasp of Isæus and the stately

elegance of Isocrates. The acknowledged master of Greek eloquence, Demosthenes was especially great in political and deliberative speech. This phase of his greatness is better appreciated in his Philippics and other political speeches than in the more commonly read oration "On the Crown." In the time of Demosthenes Athens afforded the ideal atmosphere for the cultivation of political oratory. The world has probably never seen another State in which the political education of its citizens was so complete. It needed only a great occasion or crisis to bring forward the great political orator. Such a crisis was upon Athens when Demosthenes came to manhood.

The losing conflict, in which he defended the freedom of his country against the attacks of Philip of Macedon from without and the treachery of foes at home, gave birth to that resistless eloquence that "fulmin'd over Greece from Macedon to Artaxerxes' throne." The great debate between Æschines and Demosthenes drew an audience from all parts of Greece as to a public spectacle. The reader of the oration "On the Crown" is impressed with the variety of the style of the orator. The manner of Demosthenes is characterized by the old critic Dionysius in the following words: "Now he speaks in short sentences, now in extended periods. All softness and uniformity of sound are foreign to him; yet there prevails in the discourse of Demosthenes harmony and rhythm changing in a thousand ways. Demosthenes is manifold; he excels the older school in clearness, the plain school in gravity, in penetrating and pungent force, the middle school in variety, in symmetry, in felicity, in pathos, above all in propriety and effectual strength. Sometimes he stings, sometimes he soothes the mind of the listener; sometimes he appeals to reason, sometimes to passion." His eloquence has been likened to a mountain torrent that often overflows its banks.

In conclusion let us notice briefly the leading points in which ancient Greek differs from modern oratory.

It has become already apparent that the fundamental difference lies in the fastidious finish of style and careful arrangement so characteristic of Greek oratory. This peculiarity accounts for occasional repetitions by the writer in one speech

from another speech of his own, or borrowed from another orator. The Greeks believed that a thing can be well said only in one way, but not in two ways, and that therefore to change the form of a sentence once best expressed was to lose something of its perfection.

Hence, too, the readiness with which rival orators in addressing assemblies criticize each other's style. No modern statesman or advocate would think of calling attention to the stylistic defects of an opponent. To this scrupulous attention paid to external form is due another peculiarity of Greek oratory. An orator in view of this would naturally shrink from speaking extemporaneously. Demosthenes was most unwilling, as he put it, "to put his faculty at the mercy of fortune." The modern presumption, on the contrary, is always that a speech is extemporary, and its effectiveness is likely to be weakened in so far as it is felt to have been composed beforehand and committed to memory. The modern orator is accordingly often tempted to give the semblance of spontaneous and unpremeditated utterance to a speech carefully prepared, and in doing so is likely to disregard the artistic form and symmetry of the whole. Hence we find in modern speeches sudden bursts of eloquence which are extempore as regards the form, but which from the very nature of its being are impossible to ancient oratory. Where so much attention was paid to qualities of style it would be natural also for the hearer to attach undue importance to trivialities very much in the same frame of mind as he would a rhapsodist and to listen to an oration more for the sake of getting pleasure than of being convinced. The Greek heard an orator or an actor. We may well believe that the style of delivery, the elocution, played no small part in the success of a speech. We know in fact that Demosthenes and Æschines criticized each other's delivery, doubtless very much to the delight of the Athenian audience. To pander to this desire to be entertained and amused must have been a frequent temptation, under the spell of which the orator was sometimes led to indulge in abusive personalities that are more becoming to the writer of the old comedy than to the pleader at the bar or the statesman on the *bema*.

THE TEN GREAT GREEK ORATORS

So preëminent was Athens in oratory that the ten greatest orators of Greece as enumerated in the Alexandrian Canon, which listed and classified the Greek authors, were all selected from the Athenians. These "Ten Attic Orators," as they were called, are given in what was then considered the chronological order as follows: Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus of Athens, and Dinarchus. To these should be prefixed PERICLES, the substance of a few of whose great speeches is preserved in the works of Thucydides in his History of the Peloponnesian War (see volume five of the present work).

ANTIPHON was born B.C. 480 in Attica. He was the son and pupil of the sophist Sophilus. Taking up his father's profession he achieved great fame as a rhetorician, developing political eloquence into an art, and thereby attracting many to his school who desired to become successful advocates in law cases. He also wrote out speeches for others to deliver in court, though he afterwards published them under his own name. Entering into politics he became a leading member of the oligarchical party, being the deviser of the establishment of the Council of Four Hundred which sounded the knell of democracy in B.C. 411. He also went as ambassador to Sparta in the interest of the Athenian oligarchy to sue for peace on any terms. On the fall of the Four Hundred he was accused of high treason, and, in spite of a masterly defence—the first speech he ever made in public—was condemned to death B.C. 411. Of the sixty orations attributed to him, only fifteen are preserved—all on trials for murder; but only three of them are about real cases. The rest (named *tetralogies* because every four are the first and second speeches of both plaintiff and defendant on the same subject) are mere rhetorical exercises. In both substance and style the speeches of Antiphon are representative of the rudimentary stage of the art of oratory.

ANDOCIDES was born B.C. 439 of a noble family, and upon attaining manhood joined himself to the aristocratic party.

However, becoming involved with others in B.C. 415, in a charge of mutilating the statues of Hermes, to save his own and his kinsmen's lives he betrayed his aristocratic accomplices. Although promised immunity for thus turning "State's evidence," he suffered partial loss of civic rights. Accordingly he left Athens and embarked in trade in Cyprus. Upon the fall of the Thirty Tyrants in B.C. 403, when a general amnesty was proclaimed, he returned to Athens, where he successfully struggled to live down his evil record, and at last gained the esteem of his fellow citizens, so much so, that, during the Corinthian War in 390 B.C., he was sent to Sparta to negotiate peace. He brought back the draft of a treaty, for the ratification of which he earnestly pleaded in a speech that is still extant. The people repudiated it, however, as too favorable to Sparta, and banished Andocides as an enemy of the State. He died in exile. Besides the above-mentioned oration, we have two delivered on his own behalf, one pleading for his recall from his first exile, B.C. 410; another against the charge of unlawful participation in the mysteries, B.C. 399. His speeches are representative of a decided advance over Antiphon's in the art of oratory. They are less academic, being simple and direct, and expressed in the language of the people.

LYSIAS was born at Athens, B.C. 458 or 459. His father, Cephalus, was a wealthy native of Syracuse, who had settled at Athens during the time of Pericles, with whom he became on intimate terms; he was also a friend of Socrates, so much so that Plato laid the scene of his Socratic dialogue, the Republic, in his house. Lysias, at the age of fifteen, went with his brother Polemarchus, to Thurii in Italy at the founding of the colony, where he remained for thirty-two years. He was a staunch supporter of Athenian interests, and so was obliged to leave Italy after the failure of the Athenian expedition to Sicily. He returned to Athens B.C. 411, and carried on, in partnership with his brother Polemarchus, an extensive manufactory of shields, in which they employed as many as 120 slaves. Their wealth excited the cupidity of the Thirty Tyrants, who sent an armed force into their house one evening while Lysias was entertaining a few friends at

supper; their property was seized, and Polemarchus was taken to prison, where he was shortly after executed (B.C. 404). Lysias, by bribing some of the soldiers, escaped to Megara. He has given a graphic account of his escape in his oration against Eratosthenes, who had been one of the Thirty Tyrants. He died about B.C. 378.

A life of Lysias, attributed to Plutarch, mentions 425 of his orations, 230 of which were considered to be genuine. There remain only thirty-four, which are remarkable for purity, clearness, grace and simplicity, which caused him to be regarded as the chief master of the "plain" style. In the art of narration, Dionysius of Halicarnassus considers him superior to all orators in being distinct, probable and persuasive, but, at the same time he admits that Lysias's composition is better adapted to private litigation than to important causes. The masterpiece of Lysias is the funeral oration in the honor of those Athenians who died in battle in the expedition sent under the command of Iphicrates to the aid of Corinth.

ISOCRATES (B.C. 436-338), was the fourth of the ten Attic orators. His life, as well as a translation of his masterpiece, the *Panegyric*, are given in the following pages; both the biography and the translation are by J. H. Freese, M.A.

Sixty compositions ascribed to Isocrates were known to the ancients, but a number of them are undoubtedly spurious. Eleven letters and ten orations are extant. Six of the orations are on forensic subjects, and written to be delivered by others; the other four are political declamations. Isocrates paid special attention to the rhythm, or cadence, of his oratorical periods, and the choice of beautiful phrases and figures of speech. In this he influenced not only the style of Greek oratory, but also Greek prose in general. Cicero based his rhetoric on the periods of Isocrates, and so carried his influence not only into Roman literature, but into modern literary prose, which is largely modelled upon Cicero's style.

ISÆUS (B.C. 420-328) was born at Chalcis, and came to Athens at an early age. He wrote judicial orations for others and established a rhetorical school at Athens, in which Demosthenes is said to have been his pupil. Eleven of his ora-

tions are extant, all relating to questions of inheritance. They afford considerable information respecting this branch of the Attic law, of which he was a master, and are marked by intellectual acumen, clearness of statement, and vigor of style.

DEMOSTHENES (B.C. 383-322), was the sixth in time order, and the first in eminence of the ten Attic orators. His life, translated by Sir Thomas North, from the French version by Amyot of Plutarch's Lives, appears in the following pages, with a translation by Thomas Leland, D.D., of his oration in the famous debate with Æschines upon the motion of Ctesiphon that a crown of honor be given Demosthenes in recognition of his services to Athens.

Sixty-one orations ascribed to Demosthenes are extant, about half of which are spurious. Seventeen of the genuine orations are political, and twelve of these deal with the machinations of Philip of Macedon to subvert the Athenian power. Others are pleadings in private cases.

The style of Demosthenes was founded upon the best elements of his predecessors, together with those of the historian Thucydides, who composed speeches which he put in the mouths of Pericles and others. To these elements he added a force and vigor which were peculiarly his own, and thereby placed himself far in advance of all the Greek orators, and, in the estimation of many, at the head of all the orators of the world in modern times as well as in ancient. Certainly the only orator of antiquity that could be considered in his class was Cicero, who had the advantage of studying the Greek orator's speeches. Plutarch's Life of Cicero, and his comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes are presented in the pages following his Life of Demosthenes in order that the reader may have before him an estimate of the relative merits of these orators given by the ablest of ancient biographers.

ÆSCHINES, the opponent of Demosthenes, was born B.C. 389. He was the son of a schoolmaster. After service as a soldier he became a public clerk, which employment, however, he soon left to go upon the stage. Meeting here with little success he embarked upon a public career as a political speaker. After the fall of Olynthus (B.C. 348), he caught the favor of the public by advocating a general council of the

Greek States to concert measures against King Philip, and was appointed a member of the embassy which was sent to Arcadia to further the project. The embassy failed in its purpose, whereupon Æschines revealed his character by changing sides, becoming an adherent of the peace party, and as such procuring appointment on the famous embassy to Philip (B.C. 346) preliminary to the peace of Philocrates. Æschines was won over by Philip's flattery (Demosthenes boldly charges him with being bribed, and Philip afterward made no exception of him in his sweeping charge that he had found no ambassador but Xenocrates, the philosopher, whose favor he was unable to purchase) and advocated a close alliance with the Macedonian king as the safest course for Athens. Almost immediately after the conclusion of the peace, he was indicted by Timarchus, an adherent of Demosthenes, for treasonable conduct, but was triumphantly acquitted. A second accusation brought by Demosthenes himself in B.C. 343, was more nearly successful, and Æschines narrowly escaped conviction, after an able defence in which he was aided by the intercession of Eubulus and Phocion. Æschines next appears as one of the representatives of Athens at the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi in B.C. 339. Here, as he tells us, he was so enraged by an unjust complaint which the delegates from Amphissa brought against Athens, that he in turn made a vehement counter-attack on the Amphissians for their occupation of the sacred plain of Cirrha. So infuriated were the Amphictyons by his invective, that, after burning the buildings of the offending Amphissian settlers, they voted to hold a special meeting of the council to consider what further punishment should be inflicted. Athens and Thebes refused to send delegates to this assembly and thus became involved in war with Philip and the rest of the Amphictyons—a war which resulted in the fatal battle of Chæronea and the downfall of Athenian independence.

After the battle of Chæronea, the party of Æschines naturally fell into disfavor. He does not figure prominently in public affairs again until B.C. 330, when he made a final effort to defeat his hated rival. An obscure politician named Ctesiphon had in B.C. 336 brought in a bill proposing to confer a

golden crown upon Demosthenes for his services to the State. Æschines raised objection to this on the score of illegality. The case did not come to trial till six years had elapsed, and then each of the orators exhausted every effort to crush the opponent. But Æschines was the weaker, both in genius and in merit, and not receiving the fifth part of the votes of the court, he was fined one thousand drachmas, and lost the right of appearing before the people in a similar capacity again. He left Athens and went first to Ephesus and afterwards to Rhodes, where he is said to have opened a school of oratory. He died at Samos at the age of seventy-five.

Only three orations of Æschines have been preserved, and all of these bear, directly or indirectly, on his quarrel with Demosthenes. Their titles are: Against Timarchus, On the Dishonest Embassy, and Against Ctesiphon; the occasion and subject of each have been noticed above. The second of them is generally considered the best. In natural gifts of oratory Æschines was inferior to Demosthenes alone among his contemporaries. He excelled particularly in brilliant narrative, and was also one of the first to win a reputation for extemporaneous speech. His chief deficiency was in moral character.

HYPERIDES was born in Athens about B.C. 390. He was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and early won distinction as a forensic and political orator in spite of scandals connected with his private life. At first he was the steadfast ally of Demosthenes in the struggle against the Macedonian party in Athens, but when Demosthenes was accused of taking bribes from Alexander's treasurer, Harpalus, he aided in the prosecution. When Athens was at Alexander's mercy after the destruction of Thebes (B.C. 335), the young conqueror demanded that he, Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as the inveterate enemies of Macedon, be given up to him, and it was with difficulty that the orators escaped. After the death of Alexander (B.C. 323), he stirred up the Lamian War, at the unfortunate conclusion of which he and Demosthenes (who had been reconciled to one another in the meantime) and other patriots were condemned to death by the Macedonian party. He fled for sanctuary to a temple in Ægina, but was dragged

away from it by force, and by order of Antipater was put to death at Corinth in 322 B.C.

Seventy-seven speeches were ascribed to Hyperides, only a few fragments of which were known until recent times; but in 1847, in a tomb at Thebes in Egypt, extensive fragments were found of his speech against Demosthenes, together with a speech of Lycophron, and the whole of his oration for Euxenippus. In 1856 there was a further discovery in Egypt of an important part of the funeral oration delivered in B.C. 322 over those who had fallen in the siege of Lamia. In 1889 M. Eugène Revillout announced the purchase by the Louvre of a papyrus containing portions of the first oration of Hyperides against Athenogenes.

While the speeches of Hyperides do not possess the force and moral earnestness of those of Demosthenes, they were skilful in construction and graceful in expression, being typical productions of the practiced professional pleader. Witty, ironical, urbane, he has been compared in relation to Demosthenes, to Lord Salisbury in relation to Mr. Gladstone. A better parallel would be of Rufus Choate to Daniel Webster.

LYCURGUS was another leader of the democratic party in the contest with Philip of Macedon. The time of his birth is uncertain, but he was older than Demosthenes. Like Hyperides, he was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and entered in a similar fashion into politics. In B.C. 343 we find him a member of the Athenian ambassadors who succeeded in counteracting the designs of Philip against Ambracia and the Peloponnesus. He filled the office of treasurer of the public revenue for three periods of five years, and was noted for the integrity and ability with which he discharged the duties of his office—indeed, he seems to have been the only statesman of antiquity who had a real knowledge of the management of finance. He raised the revenue to twelve hundred talents, and also erected during his administration many public buildings, and completed the docks, the armory, the theater of Dionysus, and the Panathenaic course. In order that the public might know how its funds were administered, he had his accounts engraved on stone, and set up in a part of the wrestling school. So great confidence was placed in the honesty of Lycurgus

that many citizens confided to his custody large sums. After the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 388) Lycurgus conducted the accusation against the Athenian general Lysicles. He was one of the orators demanded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes (B.C. 335). He died about B.C. 323 and his body was burned in the Academia. Fifteen years after his death, upon the ascendancy of the democratic faction, a decree was passed by the Athenian people that public honors should be paid to Lycurgus. A brazen statue of him was erected in the Ceramicus, and the representative of his family was allowed the privilege of dining in the Prytaneum.

Lycurgus is said to have published fifteen orations, of which only one has been preserved,—an accusation against Leocrates as an Athenian citizen, for abandoning Athens after the battle of Chæronea, and settling in another Grecian State.

DINARCHUS (born B.C. 361) was a Corinthian by birth who settled at Athens and adopted the occupation of writing speeches for others. He flourished after the passing of Demosthenes and other great orators of his age, and so won his oratorical laurels with ease. He supported the aristocratic party, and upon the ascendancy of the democratic was involved in a charge of conspiracy against the administration, whereupon he withdrew to Chalcis in Eubœa. After an absence of fifteen years he was allowed to return to Athens. On his arrival he lodged with Proxenus, an old acquaintance, who robbed the old man of his money. Dinarchus brought an action against him, and for the first time in his life, made his appearance in a court of justice. Of the numerous orations of Dinarchus only three remain (one against Demosthenes, touching the affairs of Harpalus), and these are not entitled to any very high praise. He does not deserve his place among the Ten Attic Orators; this should be given to Pericles.

PLUTARCH

THE LIVES OF
DEMOSTHENES

AND

CICERO

WITH A

COMPARISON OF THE TWO ORATORS

TRANSLATED BY

SIR THOMAS NORTH

FROM THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF JACQUES AMYOT

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY
LIFE OF PLUTARCH
BY AMYOT

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

TO THE READERS

BY JACQUES AMYOT¹

SURELY among all those that ever have taken upon them to write the lives of famous men, the chief prerogative, by the judgment of such as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greek philosopher, Plutarch, borne in the city of Chæronea in the country of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his works may well put men out of doubt, if they list to read them through: who all his life long, even to his old age, had to deal in affairs of the common weal, as he himself witnesseth in divers places, specially in the treatise which he entitled, Whether an old man ought to meddle with the government of a common-weal or not: and who had the hap and honour to be schoolmaister to the Emperor Trajan, as is commonly believed, and as is expressly pretended by a certain epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my judgment to be somewhat suspicious, because I find it not among his works in Greek, besides that it speaketh as though the book were dedicated to Trajan, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the book, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because methinks it is sagely and gravely written, and well beseeming him, I have set it down here in this place. 'Plutarch unto Trajan sendeth greeting. I know well that the modesty of your nature was not desirous of sovereignty, though you have always endeavoured to deserve

¹ Jacques Amyot was born at Melun, France, in 1513, and died at Auxerre, 1593. He was tutor of Charles IX and Henry of Anjou, and attained high honors, becoming Grand Almoner Bishop of Auxerre, and Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghost. He translated the classic Greek novels Theagenes and Chariclea (1547), and Daphnis and Chloe (1559), the works of Diodorus Siculus (1554), Plutarch's Lives (1559), and Plutarch's Morals (1572).

it by your honourable conversation: by reason whereof you have been found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now rejoyce in your vertue and my fortune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that thing with justice, which you have obtained by desert. For otherwise, I am sure you have put your self in hazard of great dangers, and me in peril of slanderous tongues, because Rome cannot away with a wicked emperor, and the common voice of the people is always to cast the faults of the scholars in the teeth of their schoolmaisters: as for example: Seneca is railed upon by slanderous tongues, for the faults of his scholar, Nero: the scapes of Quintilian's young scholars are imputed to Quintilian himself: and Socrates is blamed for being too mild to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do all things well enough, so you keep you as you are. If you first set your self in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things shall fall out according to your desire. I have set you down the means in writing, which you must observe for the well governing of your common weal, and have showed you of how great force your behaviour may be in that behalf. If you think good to follow those things, you have Plutarch for the director and guider of your life: if not, I protest unto you by this epistle, that your falling into danger to the overthrow of the empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarch.' This epistle witnesseth plainly that he was the schoolmaister of Trajan, which thing seemeth to be avowed by this writing of Suidas; Plutarch being born in the city of Chæronea in Bœotia, was in the time of the Emperor Trajan, and somewhat afore. But Trajan honoured him with the dignity of Consulship, and commanded the officers and magistrates that were throughout all the country of Illyria, that they should not do any thing without his counsel and authority. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Trajan being so wise an emperor, would never have done him so great honour, if he had not thought himself greatly beholding to him for some special cause. But the thing that maketh me most to believe it true, is, that the same goodness and justice appeared to be naturally imprinted in most of Trajan's sayings and doings, whereof the pattern

and mould (as a man might term it) was cast and set down in Plutarch's *Morals*, so as men may perceive expressly that the one could well skill to perform rightly, that which the other had taught wisely. For Dion writeth, that among other honours which the Senate of Rome gave by decree unto Trajan, they gave him the title of the Good Emperor. And Eutropius reporteth that even unto his time, when a new emperor came to be received of the Senate, among the cries of good handsel, and the wishes of good luck that were made unto him, one was: Happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Trajan. Howsoever the case stood, it is very certain that Plutarch dedicated the collection of his *Apothemes* to him. But when he had lived a long time at Rome, and was come home again to his own house, he fell to writing of this excellent work of *Lives*, which he called *Parallelon*, as much to say, as a coupling or matching together, because he matcheth a Grecian with a Roman, setting down their lives each after other, and comparing them together, as he found any likeness of nature, conditions, or adventures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worse, greater or less, than the other: which things he doth with so goodly and grave discourse everywhere, taken out of the deepest and most hidden secrets of moral and natural philosophy, with so sage percepts and fruitful instructions, with so effectual commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with so many goodly allegations of other authors, with so many fit comparisons, and with so many high inventions: that the book may better be called by the name of the Treasury of all rare and perfect learning, than by any other name. Also it is said, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular learning, and a worthy of the ancient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which saw him so earnestly given to his study, that he forgot all other things) what author he had leverest choose, if he were at that point that he must needs choose some one to hold him to alone, did answer that he would choose Plutarch: because that if they were all put together, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasant to read, as he. Sosius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his work, was a Senator of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth

that the three persons whom Trajan most loved and honoured, were Sosius, Parma, and Celsus, insomuch that he caused images of them to be set up. True it is that he wrote the lives of many other men, which the spitefulness of time hath bereft us of, among which he himself maketh mention of the lives of Scipio Africanus and Metellus Numidicus. And I have read a little epistle of a son of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an old copy in the Library of S. Mark in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a register of all the books that his father made: and there among the couples of lives he setteth down the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the lives of Augustus Cæsar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having used all the diligence that I could in searching the chief libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could never find them out.

TO THE READER

BY SIR THOMAS NORTH¹

THE profit of stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amyot, in his epistle to the reader: so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your own diligence and good understanding: you shall not need to trust him, you may prove your selves, that there is no profane study better than Plutarch. All other learning is private, fitter for universities than cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in students themselves, than profitable unto others. Whereas stories are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve for all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other books, as it is better to see learning in noble men's lives, than to read it in philosophers' writings. Now for the author, I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain: but I believe I

¹ Sir Thomas North was a translator from the Romance languages during the latter half of the sixteenth century. He translated Amyot's French version of Plutarch's Lives in 1579.

might be bold to affirm, that he hath written the profitablest story of all authors. For all other were fain to take their matter, as the fortune of the countries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the special acts of the best persons, of the famousest nations of the world. But I will leave the judgment to yourselves. My only purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your own gentleness, and with the opinion of my diligence and good extent. And so I wish you all the profit of the book. Fare ye well. The four and twentieth day of January, 1579.

PLUTARCH

THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

HE that made the little book of the praise of Alcibiades, touching the victory he wan at the horse-race of the Olympian Games, (were it the Poet Euripides as some think, or any other) my friend Sossius: said, That to make a man happy, he must of necessity be born in some famous city. But to tell you what I think hereof, doubtless, true happiness chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be born in a pelting village, or in a famous city: no more than it is for one to be born of a fair or foul mother. For it were a madness to think that the little village of Iulid, being the least part of the Isle of Ceos (the whole island of itself being but a small thing) and that the Isle of Ægina (which is of so small a length, that a certain Athenian on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but as a straw in the sight of the haven of Piræus) could bring forth famous poets, and excellent comedians: and not breed an honest, just, and wise man, and of noble courage. For, as we have reason to think that arts and sciences which were first devised and invented to make some things necessary for men's use, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in little poor villages: So are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong and fruitful plant, can take root, and bring forth in every place, where it is grafted in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with pains. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should: we cannot accuse the meanness of our country where we were born, but we must justly accuse ourselves. Surely he that hath taken upon him to put forth any work, or to write any history, into the which he is to thrust many strange things unknown to his country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, and dispersed abroad in divers places, and are to be gathered out of divers books and authorities: first of all, he must needs

remain in some great and famous city throughly inhabited, where men do delight in good and vertuous things, because there are commonly plenty of all sorts of books: and that perusing them, and hearing talk also of many things besides, which other historiographers peradventure have not written of, and which will carry so much more credit, because men that are alive may presently speak of them as of their own knowledge, whereby he may make his work perfect in every point, having many and divers necessary things contained in it. But I myself that dwell in a poor little town, and yet do remain there willingly lest it should become less: whilst I was in Italy, and at Rome, I had no leisure to study and exercise the Latin tongue, as well for the great business I had then to do, as also to satisfy them that came to learn philosophy of me: so that even somewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latin books in my hand. And thereby a strange thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not nor understood matters so much by the words, as I came to understand the words by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latin tongue well, or to speak it readily, or to understand the signification, translations, and fine joining of the simple words one with another, which to beautify and set forth the tongue: surely I judge it to be a marvellous pleasant and sweet thing, but withal, it requireth a long and laboursome study, meet for those that have better leisure than I have, and that have young years on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present book, which is the fifth of this work, where I have taken upon me to compare the lives of noble men one with another: undertaking to write the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the government of the commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to confer their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper or sweeter in his oration. For as the poet Ion sayeth,

In this behalf a man may rightly say,
The dolphins in their proper soil do play.

The which Cæcilius little understanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath unadvisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of Demosthenes' eloquence with Cicero's. But if it were an easy matter for every man to know himself, then the gods needed have given us no commandment, neither could men have said that it came from Heaven. But for my opinion, me thinks fortune even from the beginning hath framed in manner one self mould of Demosthenes and Cicero, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the liberty of their country, and both of them very fearful in any danger of wars. And likewise their fortunes seem to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two orators again, that being so meanly born as they, have come to be of so great power and authority as they two, nor that have deserved the ill-will of kings and noblemen so much as they have done, nor that have lost their daughters, nor that have been banished their countries, and that have been restored again with honour, and that again have fled, and have been taken again, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their country. So that it is hard to be judged, whether nature have made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning work-maisters strived one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was as Theopompus writeth, one of the chief men of the city, and they called him Machæropœus, to wit, a maker of sword-blades, because he had a great shop where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching Æschines, the orators report of his mother, who said that she was the daughter of one Gelon (that fled from Athens being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or devised of malice to do him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father died, leaving him but seven years old, and left him reasonable well: for his goods came to little less than the value of fifteen talents. Howbeit his guardians did him great wrong: for they stale a

great part of his goods themselves, and did let the rest run to naught, as having little care of it, for they would not pay his schoolmaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learn the liberal sciences which are usually taught unto honest men's sons: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to school, neither his maisters also durst keep him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly child at the first, and very weak. And it is reported also, that the surname of Battalus was given him in mockery by other schoolboys his companions, because of his weakness of body. This Battalus (as divers men do report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the poet Antiphanes to mock him, devised a little play. Others also do write of one Battalus, a dissolute orator, and that wrote lascivious verses: and it seemeth that the Athenians at that time did call a certain part of man's body uncomely to be named, Battalus. Now for Argas (which surname men say was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners (because some poets do call a snake Argas) or else for his manner of speech: which was very unpleasant to the ear, for Argas is the name of a poet that made always bawdy and ill-favoured songs. But hereof enough, as Plato said. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give himself to eloquence, was this. Callistratus the Orator was to defend the cause of one Oropus before the judges, and every man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellency of the orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly known to all. Demosthenes hearing his schoolmaisters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolmaster to be so good, as to let him go with him. His maister granted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall door where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed their scholar in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both hear and see all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereupon when Demosthenes had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love with the honour which the orator had

gotten, when he saw how he was waited upon home with such a train of people after him: but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turn and convey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the study of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body, which other children are brought up in: and began to labour continually, and to frame himself to make orations, with intent one day to be an orator among the rest. His master that taught him rhetorick was Isæus, notwithstanding that Isocrates also kept a school of rhetorick at that time: either because that being an orphan he was not able to pay the wages that Isocrates demanded of his scholars, which was ten minas: or rather for that he found Isæus' manner of speech more proper for the use of the eloquence he desired, because it was more fine and subtil. Yet Hermippus writeth notwithstanding, that he had read certain books, having no name of any author, which declared that Demosthenes had been Plato's scholar, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronounciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one Ctesibius, who reporteth that Demosthenes had secretly read Isocrates' works of rhetorick, and also Alcidas' books, by means of one Callias Syracusan, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardship, he began to put his guardians in suit, and to write orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner did ever use delays and excuses, to save themselves from giving up any account unto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exercise (as Thucydides writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great pains and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deal. So having now gotten some boldness, and being used also to speak in open presence, and withal, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is won by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward himself, and to practise in matters of state. For, as here goeth a tale of one Laomedon an Orchomenian, who having a grievous pain in the spleen, by advice of the physicians was willed to run long courses to help him: and that following their order, he became in the

end so lusty and nimble of body, that afterwards he would needs make one to run for games, and indeed grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Even so the like chanced unto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise oratory for recovery of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledge how to plead: he afterwards took upon him to speak to the people in assemblies, touching the government of the commonwealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of prize, and at length did excel all the orators at that time that got up into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventured to speak openly, the people made such a noise, that he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speech that was so strange, because he used so many long confused periods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one upon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to hear him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his sentence. So that at length, perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speak any more before the people, and half in despair withdrew himself into the haven of Piræus. There Eunomus the Thessalian being a very old man, found him, and sharply reprov'd him, and told him, that he did himself great wrong, considering, that having a manner of speech much like unto Pericles, he drowned himself by his faint heart, because he did not seek the way to be bold against the noise of the common people, and to arm his body to away with the pains and burden of publick orations, but suffering it to grow feebler, for lack of use and practice. Furthermore, being once again repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging down his head for shame, and utterly discouraged: Satyrus an excellent player of comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went and spake with him. Demosthenes made his complaint unto him, that where he had taken more pains than all the orators besides, and had almost even worn himself to the bones with study, yet he could

by no means devise to please the people: whereas other orators that did nothing but bib all day long, and mariners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on the other side that they made no account of him. Satyrus then answered him, Thou sayest true, Demosthenes, but care not for this, I will help it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without book certain verses of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereupon Demosthenes presently rehearsed some unto him, that came into his mind. Satyrus repeating them after him, gave them quite another grace, with such a pronounciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that Demosthenes thought them clean changed. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace and comeliness in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speak of, to exercise to plead well, unless therewithal he do also study to have a good pronounciation and gesture. Thereupon he built him a cellar under the ground, the which was whole even in my time, and he would daily go down into it, to fashion his gesture and pronounciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three moneths one after another, and did shave his head of purpose, because he durst not go abroad in that sort, although his will was good. And yet he took his theme and matter to declaim upon, and to practise to plead of the matters he had had in hand before, or else upon occasion of such talk as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went down into his cellar, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed between him and his friends in talk together, and alleged also both his own and their answers. And if peradventure he had been at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by himself: and would finely couch and convey it into proper sentences, and thus change and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quick capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not natural, but arti-

ficially gotten with extreme labour. And for proof hereof, they make this probable reason. That they never saw Demosthenes make any oration on the sudden, and that oftentimes when he was set in the assembly, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsel then in hand: howbeit that he never rose upon their call, unless he had first studied the matter well he would speak of. So that all the other orators would many times give him a taunt for it: as Pytheas among other, that taunting him on a time, told him, his reasons smelled of the lamp. Yea, replied Demosthenes sharply again: so is there great difference, Pytheas, betwixt thy labour and mine by lamplight. And himself also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not always write at length all that he would speak, neither did he also offer to speak, before he had made briefs of that he would speak. He said furthermore, that it was a token the man loved the people well; that he would be careful before what he would say to them. For this preparative (quoth he) doth shew that he doth honour and reverence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plain token that he despiseth their authority, and that he lacketh no good-will (if he could) to use force against them, rather than reason and persuasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofs, that Demosthenes had no heart to make any oration on the sudden, they do allege this reason: that Demades many times rose upon the sudden to maintain Demosthenes' reasons, when the people other while did reject him: and that Demosthenes on the other side, did never rise to make Demades' words good, which he had spoken in his behalf. But now might a man ask again: If Demosthenes was so timorous to speak before the people upon the sudden: what meant Æschines then to say, that he was marvellous bold in his words: and how chanceth it, that he rising upon the sudden, did presently answer the orator Python Byzantine in the field, that was very lusty in speech, (and rough like a vehement running stream) against the Athenians: and how chanced it that Lamachus Myrrhenian, having made an oration in the praise of Philip and Alexander, kings of Macedon, in the which he spake all

the ill he could of the Thebans, and of the Olynthians, and when he had read and pronounced it in the open assembly of the Olympian Games: Demosthenes upon the instant rising upon his feet, declared, as if he had read some history, and pointed as it were with his finger unto all the whole assembly, the notable great service and worthy deeds the which the Chalcidians had done in former times, for the benefit and honour of Greece! And in contrary manner also, what mischief and inconvenience came by means of the flatterers that altogether gave themselves to curry favour with the Macedonians! With these and such-like persuasions, Demosthenes made such stir amongst the people, that the orator Lamachus being afraid of the sudden uproar, did secretly convey himself out of the assembly. But yet to tell you what I think, Demosthenes in my opinion fashioning himself even from the beginning, to follow Pericles' steps and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeit his gravity and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speak over lightly to every matter at all adventures: judging, that by that manner of wisdom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slip any good occasion to speak, where it might be for his credit: so would he not likewise over-rashly hazard his credit and reputation to the mercy of fortune. And to prove this true, the orations which he made upon the sudden without premeditation before, do shew more boldness and courage, than those which he had written, and studied long before: if we may believe the reports of Eratosthenes, Demetrius Phalerian, and of the other comical poets. For Eratosthenes said, That he would be often carried away with choler and fury. Demetrius also saith, That speaking one day to the people, he sware a great oath in rhyme, as if he had been possessed with some divine spirit, and said,

By sea and land, by rivers, springs, and ponds.

There are also certain comical poets that do call him Ropoperethra, as who would say, a great babbler that speaketh all things, that cometh to his tongue's end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of rhetorick, called antitheton: which is, opposition, with saying, *sic recepit sicut cepit*, (which

signifieth, he took it as he found it). In the use of this figure Demosthenes much pleased himself, unless the poet Antiphanes speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsel he gave the people, not to take the Isle of Halonnesus of King Philip, as of gift: but to receive it as their own restored. And yet everybody did grant, that Demades of his own natural wit, without art, was invincible: and that many times speaking upon the sudden, he did utterly overthrow Demosthenes' long-studied reasons. And Aristo, of the Isle of Chios, hath written Theophrastus' judgement of the orators at that time. Who being asked what manner of orator he thought Demosthenes: he answered, Worthy of this city. Then again, how he thought of Demades: Above this city, said he. The same philosopher writeth also, that Polyeuctus Sphettian, (one of those that practised at that time in the commonwealth) gave this sentence: That Demosthenes indeed was a great orator, but Phocion's tongue had a sharper understanding, because in few words, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that Demosthenes himself said also, that as oft as he saw Phocion get up into the pulpit for orations to speak against him, he was wont to say to his friends: See, the axe of my words riseth. And yet it is hard to judge, whether he spake that in respect of his tongue, or rather for the estimation he had gotten, because of his great wisdom: thinking (as indeed it is true) that one word only, the twinkling of an eye, or a nod of his head of such a man (that through his worthiness is attained to that credit) hath more force to persuade, than all the fine reasons and devices of rhetorick. But now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius Phalerian writeth, that he heard Demosthenes himself say, being very old, that he did help them by these means. First touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did help it by putting of little pebble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the river's side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without book. And for his small and soft voice, he made that louder by running up steep and high hills, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without book. And further it is reported

of him, that he had a great looking-glass in his house, and ever standing on his feet before it, he would learn and exercise himself to pronounce his orations. For proof hereof it is reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his help to defend his cause, and told him that one had beaten him: and that Demosthenes said again unto him, I do not believe this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beat thee. The plaintiff then thrusting out his voice aloud, said, What, hath he not beaten me? Yes indeed quoth Demosthenes then: I believe it now, for I hear the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought that the sound of the voice, the pronunciation or gesture in one sort or other, were things of force to believe or discredit that a man saith. His countenance when he pleaded before the people, did marvellously please the common sort: but the noblemen, and men of understanding, found it too base and mean, as Demetrius Phalerius said, amongst others. And Hermippus writeth that one called Æsion, being asked of the ancient orators, and of those of his time, answered: That every man that had seen them, would have wondered with what honour, reverence and modesty, they spake unto the people: howbeit that Demosthenes' orations (whoever read them) were too artificial and vehement. And therefore we may easily judge, that the orations Demosthenes wrote are very severe and sharp. This notwithstanding, otherwhiles he would give many pleasant and witty answers upon the sudden. As when Demades one day said unto him, Demosthenes will teach me: after the common proverb, the sow will teach Minerva. He answered straight again, This Minerva not long since was in Collytus Street, taken in adultery. A certain thief also called Chalcus (as much to say, as of copper) stepping forth to say somewhat of Demosthenes' late sitting up a-nights, and that he wrote and studied the most part of the night by lamplight. Indeed, quoth Demosthenes, I know it grieves thee to see my lamp burn all night. And therefore you my Lords of Athens, me thinks you should not wonder to see such robberies in your city, considering we have thieves of copper, and the walls of our houses be but of clay. We could tell you of divers others of his like pleasant and witty answers, but these may suffice for this pres-

ent: and therefore we will proceed to consider further of his nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affairs of the commonwealth. Now Demosthenes first beginning when he came to deal in the affairs of the state, was in the time of the war made with the Phocians, as himself reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made against Philip: of the which, the last were made after the war was ended, and the first do touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the oration against Midias, when he was but thirty-two year old, and was of small countenance and reputation in the commonwealth: the want whereof was the chieftest cause (as I think) that induced him to take money for the injury he had done him, and to let his action fall against him.

He was not of a mild and gentle mind,
But fierce and hasty to revenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power and authority as himself, to overthrow a man so wealthy, so befriended, and so eloquent as Midias: he therefore yielded himself unto those that did speak and entreat for him. Neither do I think that the three thousand drachmas which he received, could have bridled the bitterness of his nature, if otherwise he had seen any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him. Now at his first coming unto the commonwealth, taking a noble matter in hand to speak against Philip, for the defence and maintenance of the laws and liberties of the Grecians, wherein he handled himself so worthily: that in short space he wan him marvellous fame for his great eloquence and plain manner of speech. Thereby he was marvellously honoured also through all Greece, and greatly esteemed with the King of Persia: and Philip himself made more account of him, than of all the orators in Athens, and his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confess that they had to do with a famous man. For, in the orations which Æschines and Hyperides made to accuse him, they write thus of him: And therefore I marvel what Theopompus meant, when he wrote that Demosthenes had a subtle inconstant mind, and could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for mat-

ters of state. For in contrary manner, in my judgement he continued constant still to the end, in one self manner and order, unto the which he had betaken himself at the beginning: and that not only he never changed all his lifetime, but to the contrary he lost his life, because he would be no changeling. For he did not like Demades, who to excuse himself for that he had oft turned coat in matters of government, said that he went oftentimes against his own sayings, as matters fell out: but never against the benefit of the commonwealth. And Melanopus also, who was ever against Callistratus, having his mouth many times stopped with money, he would up to the pulpit for orations, and tell the people, that indeed Callistratus, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, and yet I yield unto him for this time: for, the benefit of the commonwealth must carry it. And another also, Nicodemus Messenian, who being first of Cassander's side, took part afterward with Demetrius, and then said, That he did not speak against himself, but that it was meet he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect Demosthenes with the like, that he did ever halt or yield, either in word or deed. For he ever continued firm and constant in one mind in his orations. Inso-much that Panætius the Philosopher saith, That the most part of all his orations are grounded upon this maxim and principle: that for it self, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crown, the which he made against Aristocrates: that also which he made for the franchise and freedom: and in fine, all his orations against Philip of Macedon. And in all those he doth not persuade his countrymen to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred above safety or health. So that, had he in all his orations and doings, joined to his honesty, courtesy, and frank speech, valiantness in wars, and clean hands from bribery: he might deservedly have been compared, not with Myrocles, Polyeuctus, Hyperides and such other orators: but even with the highest, with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles. For Phocion, who took the worst way in government of the commonwealth, because he was suspected that he took part with the Macedonians: yet for valiantness, wisdom and justice, he

was ever thought as honest a man, as Ephialtes, and Aristides. But Demosthenes on the other side (as Demetrius saith) was no man to trust to for wars, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would never be corrupted with Philip king of Macedon, yet he was bribed with gold and silver that was brought from the cities of Susa and Ecbatana, and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other orators in his time, excepting Phocion. And besides he did ever speak more boldly and plainly unto the people than any man else, and would openly contrary their minds, and sharply reprove the Athenians for their faults, as appeareth by his orations. Theopompus also writeth, that the people on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whom they would needs have condemned. But he refusing to do it, the people were offended, and did mutiny against him. Thereupon he rising up said openly unto them: My Lords Athenians, I will always counsel you to that which I think best for the benefit of the commonwealth, although it be against your minds: but falsely to accuse one to satisfy your minds, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Antiphon, sheweth plainly, that he was no people-pleaser, and that he did leave more unto the authority of the Senate. For when Antiphon was quit by the people in an assembly of the city: Demosthenes notwithstanding took him and called him again into the court of the Areopagites, and did not pass unto the people's ill-will, but there convinced him for promising Philip of Macedon to burn the arsenal of Athens: so by sentence of that court he was condemned, and suffered for it. He did also accuse the nun Theoris for many lewd parts committed, and amongst others, for that she taught slaves to deceive their masters: and so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration Apollodorus spake against the Prætor Timotheus, and proved thereby that he was a debtor to the commonwealth, and so naughty a man: and that he wrote those orations also entitled to Phormio and Stephanus, for the which he was justly reprov'd. For Phormio pleaded against Apollodorus with the

oration which Demosthenes self had made for him: which was even alike, as if out of one self cutler's shop he had sold his enemies swords one to kill another: and for his known orations, those which he made against Androtion, Timocrates and Aristocrates: he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of state. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty year old. The oration which he made against Aristogiton, and the other also of liberty, against Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, he spake them, as he saith himself, (or as others write) openly unto the people, because he intended to marry Chabrias' mother. Howbeit he did not, but married a Samian woman, as Demetrius Magnesius writeth in his book he made, entitled *Synonyma*, and in that he wrote against Æschines: where he accuseth him that he dealt falsely when he was ambassador. It is not known whether it was recited or not, although Idomeneus writeth, that there lacked but thirty voices only to have quit Æschines. But in this me thinks he spake not truly, and doth but conjecture it, by that the one and the other have said in their orations against the crown, in the which, neither the one nor the other do say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to judgement. But let other that list decide this doubt. Now before the war began, it was evident enough, to which part Demosthenes would incline in the commonwealth. For, he would never leave to reprove and withstand Philip's doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Philip's Court, than any man else, he was sent unto him the tenth person with nine others in ambassade. Philip gave them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more careful and circumspect to answer Demosthenes oration, than all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not Demosthenes so much honour, nor gave him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For Philip shewed more kindness, and gave better countenance unto Æschines, and Philocrates, than unto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise Philip, and said that he was a well spoken prince, a fair man, and would drink freely, and be pleasant in company: Demosthenes smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, saying, That those qualities were nothing commendable

nor meet for a king. For the first was a quality meet for a pleader, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, wars falling out between them, because Philip of the one side could not live in peace, and the Athenians on the other side were still incensed and stirred up by Demosthenes' daily orations. Whereupon the Athenians first sent into the Isle of Eubœa, (the which by means of certain private tyrants that had taken the towns, became subject again unto Philip) following a decree Demosthenes had preferred, and so went to expulse the Macedonians again. After that also he caused them to send aid unto the Byzantines, and to the Perinthians with whom Philip made war. For he so persuaded the Athenians, that he made them forget the malice they did bear unto those two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the wars, touching the rebellion of their confederates: and he caused them to send them aid, which kept them from Philip's force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great cities of Greece as ambassador, he did so solicit and persuade them, that he brought them all in manner to be against Philip. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fifteen thousand footmen, all strangers, and two thousand horsemen, besides the citizens of every city which should also serve in the wars at their charge, and the money also levied for the maintenance of this war, was very willingly disbursed. Theophrastus writeth, that it was at that time their confederates did pray that they would set down a certain sum of money, what every city should pay: and that Crobilus an orator should make answer, that the war had no certain maintenance: inferring that the charges of war was infinite. Now all Greece being in arms, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being united in one league together: as the Eubœans, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Megarians, the Leucadians, and the Corcyræans: the greatest matter Demosthenes had to do, was to persuade the Thebans also to enter into this league, because their country confined and bordered with Attica, besides their force and power was of great importance, for that they carried the fame of all Greece at that time, for the valiantest soldiers. But it was no trifling matter

to win the Thebans, and to make them break with Philip, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them, in the war of the Phocians: besides also that betwixt Athens and Thebes by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with every little thing were soon renewed. This notwithstanding Philip being proud of the victory he had won by the city of Amphissa, when he came and invaded the country of Elatea, and was entered into Phocis: the Athenians were then so amazed with it, that no man durst occupy the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, Demosthenes only stepped up, and did again give them counsel to seek to make league and alliance with the Thebans: and so did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was always wont to do. Then with others he was sent ambassador into Thebes: and Philip also for his part, sent ambassadors unto the Thebans, Amyntas and Clearchus, two gentlemen Macedonians, and with them, Daochus, Thessalus and Thrasydæus, to answer and withstand the persuasions of the Athenian ambassadors. Thereupon the Thebans began to advise themselves for the best, and laid before their eyes the miserable fruits and calamities of war, their wounds being yet green and uncured, which they got by the wars of Phocis. Notwithstanding, the great force of Demosthenes' eloquence (as Theopompus writeth) did so inflame the Thebans' courage with desire of honour, that it trod under their feet all manner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty: that they cast at their heels, all fear of danger, all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason persuading the contrary. This act of an orator was of so great force, that Philip forthwith sent ambassadors unto the Grecians, to entreat for peace, and all Greece was up to see what would become of this stir. Thus, not only the captains of Athens obeyed Demosthenes, doing all that he commanded them: but the governors also of Thebes, and of all the country of Bœotia besides. And the assemblies also of the council of Thebes were as well governed by him, as the assemblies of Athens, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having a like au-

thority to command both, and not undeservedly, as Theopompus saith, but by just desert. But some fatal destiny, and the revolution of times had determined the final end of the liberty of Greece at that time, clean contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestial signs that did foreshew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst others, Apollo's nun gave these dreadful oracles: and this old prophecy of the Sibyls was commonly sung in everybody's mouth:

What time the bloody battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
God grant I may be far away, or else (to look thereon)
Have eagle's wings to soar above, among the clouds on high,
For there the vanquisht side shall weep, and conqueror shall die.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a little river of our country of Chæroneia, which falleth into the river of Cephissus: howbeit at this present time there is never a river nor brook in all our country, that I know called Thermodon. And I think, that that river which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of Hercules, where the Grecians lay in camp. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ran blood at the day of the battell, it changed her name and was surnamed Hæmon, because *hama* in the Greek tongue, signifieth blood. Yet Duris writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no river, but that certain men setting up their tent, and trenching it about, found a little image of stone, whereupon were engraven these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called Thermodon, who carried an Amazon hurt in his arms, and that for this image of Thermodon, they do sing such another old oracle as this:

Ye erns and ravens tarry till the field of Thermodon:
There will be store of carcasses of men to feed upon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the truth of these things. But Demosthenes trusting to the valiantness and power of the Grecians, and being marvellously encouraged to see such a great number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bade them be of good courage,

and not to buzz about such oracles, and to give ear to such prophecies. And furthermore he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the nun Pythia did lean unto Philip, as favouring him, and did put the Thebans in mind of their captain Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, and persuaded them, that those two famous men were always of opinion, that such prophecies were no other, but a fine cloak for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did despatch their matters according to their own discretion. Until this present time, Demosthenes shewed himself always an honest man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act anything answerable to the orations whereby he had persuaded the people. For he left his rank, and cowardly cast away his weapons to run the lighter, and was not ashamed at all, as Pytheas said, of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, Good fortune. Now Philip having won the battell, he was at that present so joyful, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had drunk well with his friends, he went into the place where the overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred, (by the which the Athenians accordingly proclaimed wars against him) rising and falling with his voice, and dancing it in measure with his foot:

Demosthenes the son of Demosthenes Pæanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to wax sober, and leaving his drunkenness, and that he had remembered himself what danger he had been in: then his hair stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an orator, that in a piece of a day had enforced him to hazard his realm and life at a battell. Now Demosthenes fame was so great, that it was carried even to the great King of Persia's court, who wrote unto his lieutenants and governors, that they should feed Demosthenes with money, and should procure to entertain him above all the men in Greece, as he that could best withdraw Philip and trouble him with the wars and tumults of Greece. And this was afterwards proved by letters found of Demosthenes himself, the which came to King Alexander's hands in

the city of Sardis, and by other writings also of the governors and lieutenants of the King of Persia: in the which were named directly the express sums of money which had been sent and given unto him. Now the Grecians being thus overthrown by battell, the other orators, adversaries unto Demosthenes in the commonwealth, began to set upon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not only clear him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honour him more than before, and to call him to assemblies, as one that loved the honour and benefit of his country. So that when the bones of their countrymen which were slain at the battell of Chæronea, were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gave him the honour to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, and made no shew of sorrow or grief for the loss they had received: (as Theopompus witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsel, but did honour him that gave it. Demosthenes then did make the funeral oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the sinister luck and misfortune of his name, but did pass it under his friend's names one after another, until he grew courageous again, shortly after that he understood of the death of Philip, who was slain immediately after the victory he wan at Chæronea. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophecy or oracle in the two last verses:

The vanquished bewails his luckless lot,
And he that wins, with life escapeth not.

Now Demosthenes hearing of Philip's death, before the news were openly known, to prevent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he went with a cheerful countenance into the assembly of the council, and told them there, that he had a certain dream that promised great good hap, and that out of hand unto the Athenians: and immediately after, the messengers arrived that brought certain news of King Philip's death. Thereupon the Athenians made sacrifices of joy to the gods for this happy

news, and appointed a crown unto Pausanias that had slain him. Demosthenes also came abroad in his best gown, and crowned with flowers, seven days after the death of his daughter, as Æschines reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charity unto his own children. But indeed Æschines self deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart, as to believe, that weeping and lamenting, are signs of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancy do pass away such misfortunes. But now to the Athenians again. I can neither think nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signs of joy as to wear crowns and garlands upon their heads, nor also to sacrifice unto the gods for the death of a prince, that behaved himself so princely and curteously unto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honour a man, and while he lived to make him free of their city, and now that another hath slain him, they to be in such an exceeding jollity withal, and to exceed the bounds of modesty so far, as to ramp in manner with both their feet upon the dead, and to sing songs of victory, as if they themselves had been the men that had valiantly slain him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of Demosthenes, that he leaving the tears and lamentation of his home-trouble unto women, did himself in the meantime that he thought was for the benefit of the commonwealth: and in my opinion, I think he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a governor of a commonwealth, never to stoop nor yield, but always to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the commonwealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his country, and to keep his honour much more carefully, than common players use to do, when they play the parts of kings and princes, whom we see neither weep nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to give them just occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorrow and trouble, without giving

him some words of comfort, and rather to devise some matter to assuage his sorrow, and to withdraw his mind from that, to think upon some pleasanter things: even as they should keep sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them green and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefs at home, when the commonwealth doth well: than to join their private griefs with common joys, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus far I digressed from my history, enlarging this matter, because Æschines in his oration touching this matter, did move the people's hearts too much unto womanish sorrow. But now to the rest. The cities of Greece being again stirred up by Demosthenes, made a new league again together: and the Thebans also having armed themselves by his practice, did one day set upon the garrison of the Macedonians within their city, and slew many of them. The Athenians prepared also to maintain war on the Thebans behalf, and Demosthenes was daily at all the assemblies of council, in the pulpit, persuading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into Asia unto the King of Persia's lieutenants and captains, to make war with Alexander on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say, as fool.¹ But after that Alexander having set all his things at stay within his realm, came himself in person with his army, and invaded the country of Bœotia: then fell the pride of the Athenians greatly, and Demosthenes also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poor Thebans being left unto themselves forsaken of every man: they were compelled themselves alone to bear the brunt of this war, and so came their city to utter ruin and destruction. Thereby the Athenians being in a marvellous fear and perplexity, did suddenly choose ambassadors to send unto this young king, and Demosthenes chiefly among others: who being afraid of Alexander's fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from Mount Cithæron, and gave up the ambassade. But Alexander sent to summon the Athenians, to send unto him ten of their

¹ A name derived from a story, ascribed to Homer, of a foolish character by this name. See volume two, page 346.

orators, as Idomeneus and Duris both do write: or eight as the most writers and best historiographers do report, which were these: Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes and Charidemus. At which time, they write that Demosthenes told the people of Athens, the fable of the sheep and wolves, how that the wolves came on a time, and willed the sheep, if they would have peace with them, to deliver them their mastives that kept them. And so he compared himself, and his companions that travailed for the benefit of the country, unto the dogs that keep the flocks of sheep, and calling Alexander the wolf. And so forth, said he, like as you see these corn maisters bringing a sample of their corn in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that little do sell all that they have: so I think you will all wonder, that delivering of us, you will also deliver your selves into the hands of your enemies. Aristobulus of Cassandrea reporteth this matter thus. Now the Athenians being in consultation, not knowing how to resolve: Demades having taken five talents of them whom Alexander demanded, did offer himself, and promised to go in this ambassage unto Alexander, and to entreat for them, either because he trusted in the love the king did bear him, or else for that he thought he hoped he should find him pacified, as a lion glutted with the blood of beasts which he had slain. Howsoever it happened, he persuaded the people to send him unto him, and so handled Alexander, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the city of Athens. Thereupon Alexander being retired, Demades and his fellows bare all the sway and authority, and Demosthenes was under foot. Indeed when Agis king of Lacedæmon, came with his army into the field, he began a little to rouse himself, and to lift up his head: but he shrunk collar again soon after, because the Athenians would not rise with the Lacedæmonians, who were overthrown, and Agis slain in battell. At that time was the cause of the crown pleaded against Ctesiphon, and the plea was written a little before the battle of Chæronea, in the year when Charondas was Provost of Athens: howbeit no sentence was given but ten years after that Aristophon was Provost. This was such an open judgement, and so famous, as never was any, as well for the great fame of the orators that

pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthiness of the judges that gave sentence thereof: who did not leave Demosthenes to his enemies, although indeed they were of greater power than he, and were also supported with the favour and good-will of the Macedonians: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that Æschines had not so much as the fifth part of men's voices and opinions in his behalf. Wherefor immediately after sentence given, he went out of Athens for shame, and travelled into the country of Ionia, and unto the Rhodes, where he did teach rhetorick. Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alexander's service, came unto Athens, being to be charged with many foul matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and also because he feared Alexander's fury, who was grown severe and cruel unto his chiefest servants. He coming now amongst the Athenians with store of gold and silver, the orators being greedy and desirous of the gold and silver he had brought: began straight to speak for him, and did counsel the people to receive and protect a poor suitor that came to them for succour. But Demosthenes gave counsel to the contrary, and bade them rather drive him out of the city, and take heed they brought not wars upon their backs, for a matter that not only was not necessary, but furthermore merely unjust. But within few days after, inventory being taken of all Harpalus' goods, he perceiving that Demosthenes took great pleasure to see a cup of the king's, and considered very curiously the fashion and workmanship upon it: he gave it him in his hand, to judge what it weighed. Demosthenes poising it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavy; so he asked how many pound weight is weighed. Harpalus smiling, answered him: It will weigh thee twenty talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cup, with the twenty talents. This Harpalus was a very wise man, and found straight by Demosthenes' countenance that he loved money, and could presently judge his nature by seeing his pleasant countenance, and his eyes still upon the cup. So Demosthenes refused not his gift, and being overcome withal, as if he had received a garrison into his house, he took Harpalus' part. The next morning, he went into the assembly of the people, having his neck bound up with wool and

rolls. So when they called him by his name to step up into the pulpit, to speak to the people as he had done before: he made a sign with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, and that he could not speak. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, told him it was no squinance that had stopped his wesi that night, as he would make them believe: but it was Harpalus' money which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwards when the people understood that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse himself, they would not abide to hear him: but made a noise and exclamation against him. Thereupon there rose up a pleasant conceited man, that said: Why my maisters, do ye refuse to hear a man that hath such a golden tongue? The people thereupon did immediately banish Harpalus: and fearing lest King Alexander would require an account of the gold and silver which the orators had robbed and pilfered away among them, they made very diligent search and inquiry in every man's house, excepting Callicles' house, the son of Arrhenidas, whose house they would have searched by no means, because he was but newly married, and had his new spouse in his house, as Theopompus writeth. Now Demosthenes desiring to shew that he was in no fault, preferred a decree that the court of the Areopagites should hear the matter, and punish them that were found faulty, and therewithal straight offered himself to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the sum of fifty talents, and for lack of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickly body. So he brake prison, partly without the privity of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some do report that he fled not far from the city: where it was told him that certain of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would have hidden himself from them. But they themselves first called him by his name, and coming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to help him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and persuaded him to be of good cheer, and not to despair for the misfortune that

was come unto him. This did pierce his heart the more for sorrow, that he answered them: Why, would you not have me be sorry for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the city where indeed I have so courteous enemies, that it is hard for me to find anywhere so good friends? So he took his banishment unmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the city of Ægina, or at the city of Troezen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the country of Attica, and weep bitterly. And some have written certain words he spake, which shewed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noble things he was wont to persuade in his orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens, he looked back again, and holding up his hands to the castle, said in this sort: O Lady Minerva, lady patroness of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischievous beasts: the owl, the dragon, and the people? Besides, he persuaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, never to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offered him two ways at the first, the one to go into the assembly of the people, to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had known as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that meddleth with the affairs of the state, the fear, the envy, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So, Demosthenes continuing in his exile, King Alexander died, and all Greece was up again: insomuch as Leosthenes being a man of great valour, had shut up Antipater in the city of Lamia, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then Pytheas and Callimedon, surnamed Carabos, two orators, and both of them banished from Athens, they took part with Antipater, and went from town to town with his ambassadors and friends, persuading the Grecians not to stir, neither to take part with the Athenians. But Demosthenes in contrary manner, joining with the ambassadors sent from Athens into every quarter, to solicit the cities of Greece, to seek to recover their liberty: he did aid them the best he could, to solicit the Grecians, to take arms with the Athenians, to drive the Macedonians out of Greece. And Phylarchus writeth, that Demosthenes encountered with Pytheas'

words in an open assembly of the people in a certain town of Arcadia. Pytheas having spoken before him, had said: Like as we presume always that there is some sickness in the house whither we do see asses' milk brought: so must that town of necessity be sick, wherein the ambassadors of Athens do enter. Demosthenes answered him again, turning his comparison against him: That indeed they brought asses' milk, where there was need to recover health: and even so, the ambassadors of Athens were sent, to heal and cure them that were sick. The people at Athens understanding what Demosthenes had done, they so rejoiced at it, that presently they gave order in the field, that his banishment should be revoked. He that persuaded the decree of his revocation, was called Dæmon Pæanian, that was his nephew: and thereupon the Athenians sent him a galley to bring him to Athens, from the city of Ægina. So Demosthenes being arrived at the haven of Piræus, there was neither governor, priest, nor almost any townsman left in the city, but went out to the haven to welcome him home. So that Demetrius Magnesian writeth, that Demosthenes then lifting up his hands unto heaven said, That he thought himself happy for the honour of that journey, that the return from his banishment was far more honourable, than Alcibiades' return in the like case had been. For Alcibiades was called home by force: and he was sent for with the good-will of the citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispense withal, nor remit it. Howbeit they devised a way to deceive the law: for they had a manner to give certain money unto them that did prepare and set out the altar of Jupiter Saviour, for the day of the solemnity of the sacrifice, the which they did yearly celebrate unto him: so they gave him the charge to make this preparation for the sum of fifty talents being the sum of the fine aforesaid wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the good hap of his restitution to his country and goods. For the affairs of the Grecians were immediately after brought to utter ruin. For the battell of Cranon which they lost, was in the moneth Munychion (to wit, July) and in the moneth Boedromion next ensuing, (to wit, August) the garrison of the Macedonians entered into the fort of Myny-

chia. And in the moneth Pyanepsion (to wit, the October following) Demosthenes died in this manner. When news came to Athens, that Antipater and Craterus were coming thither with a great army, Demosthenes and his friends got out of the town a little before they entered, the people by Demades' persuasion, having condemned them to die. So, every man making shift for himself, Antipater sent soldiers after them to take them: and of them Archias was captain, surnamed Phygadotheras, as much to say, as a hunter of the banished men. It is reported that this Archias was born in the city of Thurii, and that he had been sometimes a common player of tragedies: and that Polus also who was born in the city of Ægina, (the excellentest craftsmaister in that faculty of all men) was his scholar. Yet Hermippus doth recite him amongst the number of the scholars of Lacritus the Orator. And Demetrius also writeth, that he had been at Anaximenes' school. Now this Archias having found the orator Hyperides in the city of Ægina, Aristonicus Marathonian, and Himeræus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, which had taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax: he took them out of the temple by force, and sent them unto Antipater, who was at that time in the city of Cleonæ, where he did put them all to death: and some say, that he did cut off Hyperides' tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the Isle of Calauria, he took little pinnaces, and a certain number of Thracian soldiers, and being come thither, he sought to persuade Demosthenes to be contented to go with him unto Antipater, promising him that he should have no hurt. Demosthenes had a strange dream the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedy contending with Archias, and that he handled himself so well, that all the lookers on at the theatre did commend him, and gave him the honour to be the best player: howbeit that otherwise, he was not so well furnished as Archias and his players, and that in all manner of furniture he did far exceed him. The next morning when Archias came to speak with him, who using gentle words unto him, thinking thereby to win him by fair means to leave the sanctuary: Demosthenes looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without removing, said unto him: O Archias, thou diddest never persuade me

when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou now persuade me, though thou promise me. Then Archias began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O said Demosthenes, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulation, as the oracle of Macedon hath commanded thee: for before, thou spakest in the clouds, and far from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I have written somewhat to my friends. After he had said so, he went into the temple as though he would have despatched some letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withal, and bit it as his manner was when he did use to write anything, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretty while together: then he cast his gown over his head, and laid him down. Archias' soldiers seeing that, being at the door of the temple, laughing him to scorn (thinking he had done so for that he was afraid to die) called him coward, and beast. Archias also coming to him, prayed him to rise, and began to use the former persuasions to him, promising him that he would make Antipater his friend. Then Demosthenes feeling the poison work, cast open his gown, and boldly looking Archias in the face, said unto him: Now when thou wilt, play Creon's part, and throw my body to the dogs, without further grave or burial. For my part, O god Neptune, I do go out of thy temple being yet alive, because I will not profane it with my death: but Antipater, and the Macedonians, have not spared to defile thy sanctuary with blood, and cruel murder. Having spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him up by his arm-holes, for his feet began already to fail him, and thinking to go forward, as he passed by the altar of Neptune, he fell down, and giving one gasp, gave up the ghost. Now touching the poison, Aristo reporteth, that he sucked and drew it up into his mouth out of his quill, as we have said before. But one Pappus (from whom Hermippus hath taken his history) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the altar, they found the beginning of a letter which said: Demosthenes unto Antipater, but no more. Now his death being thus sudden, the Thracian soldiers that were at the temple door, reported that they saw him pluck the poison which he put into his mouth, out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had been a piece of gold he had swallowed down. How-

beit a maid of the house that served him, being examined by Archias about it: told him that he had carried it about him a long time, for a preservative for him. Eratosthenes writeth, that he kept this poison in a little box of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arm. There are many writers also that do report his death diversely, but to recite them all it were in vain: saving that there was one called Demochares (who was Demosthenes' very friend) said, that he died not so suddenly by poison, but that it was the special favour of the gods (to preserve him from the cruelty of the Macedonians) that so suddenly took him out of his life, and made him feel so little pain. Demosthenes died the sixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at Athens the feast of Ceres, called Thesmophoria, which is the dolefulest feast of all the year: on the which day also, the women remain all day long in the temple of the goddess, without meat or drink. Shortly after, the Athenians to honour him according to his deserts, did cast his image in brass, and made a law besides, that the oldest man of his house should for ever be kept within the palace, at the charge of the commonwealth: and engraved these verses also upon the base of his image:

Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy heart,
The Macedons should not have wrought the Greeks such woe and smart.

For they that think that it was Demosthenes himself that made the verses in the Isle of Calauria, before he took his poison: they are greatly decieved. But yet a little before my first coming to Athens, there went a report that such a thing happened. A certain soldier being sent for to come unto his captain, did put such pieces of gold as he had into the hands of Demosthenes' statue, which had both his hands joined together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, divers leaves whereof either blown off by wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the soldier, covered so this gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: until such time as the soldier came again, and found it as he left it: Hereupon this matter running abroad in every man's mouth, there were divers

wise men that took occasion of this subject, to make epigrams in the praise of Demosthenes, as one who in his life was never corrupted. Furthermore, Demades did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the gods, revenger of the death of Demosthenes, brought him into Macedon, to receive just punishment by death of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before grown hateful to them, and afterwards committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did persuade, and pray Perdiccas, to make himself king of Macedon, and to deliver Greece from bondage, saying that it hung by a thread, and yet it was half rotten, meaning thereby, Antipater. Dinarchus Corinthian accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grievously offended Cassander, that first he slew his own son in his arms, and then commanded they should afterwards kill Demades, making him feel then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen unto man) that traitors betraying their own country do first of all betray themselves.

Demosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never believe him. Thus, my friend Sossius, you have what we can deliver you, by reading, or report, touching Demosthenes' life and doings.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

As touching Cicero's mother, whose name was Helvia, it is reported she was a gentlewoman born, and lived always very honestly: but for his father, the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say that he was born and brought up in a fuller's shop: others report that he came of Tullius Attius, who while he lived was honoured among the Volscians as king, and made very sharp and cruel wars with the Romans. But surely it seems to me, that the first of that name called Cicero, was some famous man, and that for his sake his offspring continued still that surname, and were glad to keep it, though many men scorned it, because Cicer in English signifieth a cich-pease. That Cicero had a thing upon the tip of his nose, as it had been a little wart, much like to a cich-pease, whereupon they surnamed him Cicero. But this Cicero, whose life we write of now, nobly answered certain of his friends on a time giving him counsel to change his name, when he first made suit for office, and began to practise in matters of state: That he would endeavour himself to make the name of Ciceros more noble and famous, than the Scauri, or Catuli. After that, Cicero being made treasurer in Sicily, he gave an offering of certain silver plate unto the gods, and at large engraved on it his two first names, Marcus Tullius: and in place of his third name, he pleasantly commanded the workman to cut out the form and fashion of a cich-pease. Thus much they write of his name. Now for his birth, it was said that his mother was brought a-bed of him without any pain, the third day of January: on which day the magistrates and governors of Rome do use at this present, yearly to make solemn prayers and sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of the emperor. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did prognosticate unto her, she gave a child suck, which in time to come should do great good unto all the Romans. Now though such things may seem but dreams and fables unto many, yet Cicero himself shortly after proved this prophecy true: because that when he came of age to learn, he grew so toward, and wan such fame among the boys, for his

excellent wit and quick capacity. For thereupon came the other boys' fathers themselves to the school to see his face, and to be eye-witnesses of the report that went of him, of his sharp and quick wit to learn. But others of the rude and baser sort of men were offended with their sons, because to honour Cicero, they did always put him in the midst between them, as they went in the streets. Cicero indeed had such a natural wit and understanding, as Plato thought meet for learning, and apt for the study of philosophy. For he gave himself to all kind of knowledge, and there was no art nor any of the liberal sciences, that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young years he was apter, and better disposed to the study of poetry than any other. There is a pretty poem of his in verses of eight staves, called Pontius Glaucus, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being given more earnestly unto his study, he was not only thought the best orator, but the best poet also of all the Romans in his time: and yet doth the excellency of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue even to this day, notwithstanding the great alteration and change of the Latin tongue. But his poetry hath lost the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became far more excellent therein than he. After he had left his childish studies, he became then Philo's scholar, the academic philosopher, the only scholar of all Clitomachus' scholars, whom the Romans esteemed so much for his eloquence, and loved more for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave himself also to be a follower of Mucius Scævola, who at that time was a great man in Rome, and prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct Cicero in the laws of Rome. He did also follow Sulla for a time, in the wars of the Marsians. But when he saw that the commonwealth of Rome fell to civil wars, and from civil wars to a monarchy: then he returned again to his book and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of Greece, and always studied with them, until Sulla had gotten the upper hand, and that he saw all the commonwealth again at some stay. About that time, Sulla causing the goods of one that was said to be slain, to be sold by the crier: (being one of the outlaws and proscripts, to wit, banished by bills set up on posts) Chrysogonus, one of

Sulla's freed bondmen, and in great favour with his master, bought them for the sum of two thousand drachmas. Therewithal the son and heir of the dead person called Roscius, being marvellously offended, he shewed that it was too shameful an abuse: for his father's goods amounted to the sum of two hundred and fifty talents. Sulla finding himself thus openly touched with public fraud and deceit, for the only gratifying of his man: he procured Chrysogonus to accuse him, that he had killed his own father. Never an orator durst speak in Roscius' behalf to defend his cause, but shrunk back, fearing Sulla's cruelty and severity. Wherefore poor Roscius the young man, seeing every man forsake him, had no other refuge but to go to Cicero, whom his friends did counsel and persuade boldly to take upon him the defence of Roscius' cause: for he should never have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himself into estimation, as this. Thereupon Cicero determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he sued for: whereby he wan him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid of Sulla's displeasure, he absented himself from Rome, and went into Greece, giving it out that his travel was for a disease he had upon him. Indeed Cicero was dog-lean, a little eater, and would also eat late, because of the great weakness of his stomach: but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comeliness. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his oration that he mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes: insomuch that men were afraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to Athens, he went to hear Antiochus of the city of Ascalon, and fell in great liking with his sweet tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked his new opinions in philosophy. For Antiochus had then forsaken the opinions of the new Academic philosophers, and the sect of the Carneades: being moved thereunto, either through the manifest proof of things, or by his certain judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissension against the scholars and followers of Clitomachus and Philo, he had re-proved the resolutions of the Academics, which he had of long time defended, only to lean for the most part to the Stoics'

opinions. Howbeit Cicero had most affection unto the Academics, and did study that sect more than all the rest, of purpose, that if he saw he were forbidden to practise in the commonwealth at Rome, he would then go to Athens (leaving all pleas and orators in the commonwealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the study of philosophy. At length, when he heard news of Sulla's death, and saw that his body was grown to good state and health by exercise, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill men's ears with a sweet and pleasant sound, and yet was loud enough for the constitution of his body: receiving letters daily from his friends at Rome, that prayed him to return home, and moreover, Antiochus self also earnestly persuading him to practise in the commonwealth: he began again to fall to the study of rhetoric, and to frame himself to be eloquent, being a necessary thing for an orator, and did continually exercise himself in making orations upon any speech or proposition, and so frequented the chief orators and masters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into Asia unto Rhodes, and amongst the orators of Asia, he frequented Xenocles Adramettine, and Dionysius Magnesian, and studied also with Menippus Carian: at Rhodes he heard Apollonius Molon, and the philosopher Posidonius. And it is reported also, that Apollonius wanting the Latin tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercise sake, to declaim in Greek. Cicero was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to hear him, and every man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius all the while Cicero spake, did never shew any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while and said never a word. Cicero misliking withal, Apollonius at length said unto him: As for me Cicero, I do not only praise thee, but more than that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorry for poor Greece, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two only gifts and honour left us) are by thee obtained with us, and carried unto the Romans. Now Cicero being very well disposed, to go with good hope to practise at Rome, he was a little discouraged by an oracle that was told him. For, inquiring of the god Apollo Delphian, how

he might do to win fame and estimation: the nun Pythia answered him he should obtain it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his own nature, than the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded very warily, and discreetly, and did unwillingly seek for any office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the Grecian, and scholar, which are two words, the which the artificers, (and such base mechanical people at Rome,) have ever ready at their tongue's end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the persuasion of his father and friends: in the end he began to plead, and there obtained not the chiefest place by little and little, but so soon as he fell to practise, he was immediately esteemed above all the other orators and pleaders in his time, and did excel them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronounciation, having the self same defects of nature at the beginning, which Demosthenes had: to reform them, he carefully studied to counterfeit Roscius, an excellent comedian, and Æsop also a player of tragedies. Of this Æsop men write, that he playing one day Atreus' part upon a stage (who determined with himself how he might be revenged of his brother Thyestes) a servant by chance having occasion to run suddenly by him, he forgetting himself, striving to shew the vehement passion and fury of this king, gave him such a blow on his head with the sceptre in his hand, that he slew him dead in the place. Even so Cicero's words were of so great force to persuade, by means of his grace and pronounciation. For he mocking the orators that thrust out their heads, and cried in their orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ride, because they could not go afoot; even so (said he) they cry out, because they cannot speak. Truly pleasant taunts do grace an orator, and sheweth a fine wit: but yet Cicero used them so commonly, that they were offensive unto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spiteful man. He was chosen treasurer in the time of dearth, where there was great scarcity of corn at Rome: and the province of Sicily fell to his lot. At his first coming thither, the Sicilians misliked him very much, because he

compelled them to send corn unto Rome: but after they had found his diligence, justice, and lenity, they honoured him above any governor that ever was sent from Rome. Now there were divers young gentlemen of Rome of noble houses, who being accused for sundry faults committed in wars against their honour, and martial discipline, had been sent back again unto the Prætor of Sicily: for whom Cicero pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned every man. Thereupon, thinking well of himself, when his time was expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there happened a pretty jest unto him. As he passed through the country of Campania (otherwise called the land of labour) he met by chance with one of the chiefest Romans of all his friends. So falling in talk with him, he asked him what they said of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Rome had been full of the glory of his name and deeds. His friend asked him again: And where hast thou been Cicero all this while, that we have not seen thee at Rome? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entering into the city of Rome as into an infinite sea, was so suddenly vanquished away again, without any other fame or speech. But after that, when he looked into himself, and saw that in reason he took an infinite labour in hand to attain to glory, wherein he saw no certain end whereby to attain unto it: it cut off a great part of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he took to hear his own praise, and to be overmuch given to desire of honour and estimation: those two things continued with him even to his dying day, and did eftsoons make him swerve from justice. Furthermore, when he began thoroughly to practice in the affairs of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftsmen should have many sorts of instruments and tools without life, to know the names of every one of them, the places where they should take them, and the use whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the help and service of men) should be slothful, and careless, to learn to know the names of his citizens. Therefore he gave himself to know, not only men's names of quality, but the streets also they dwelt in, what part of the city soever

it was: their goodly houses in the country, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad into Italy, wheresoever he became, Cicero could shew and name his friends' houses. He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to serve his turn: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loved him the better, because he took no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cause soever he took in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against Verres. This Verres had been Prætor of Sicily, and had committed many lewd parts there, for the which the Sicilians did accuse him. Cicero taking upon him to defend their cause, made Verres to be condemned, not by pleading, but in manner without pleading, and in this sort. The Prætors being his judges, and favouring Verres, had made so many rejournments and delays, that they had driven it off to the last day of hearing. Cicero perceiving then he should not have any right to speak all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and judged: he rose up, and said, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but only brought forth the witnesses before the judges, and having caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would proceed to sentence, according to their evidence given on that behalf. Yet some do report, that Cicero gave many pleasant taunts and girds, in pleading the accusation of the Sicilians against Verres. The Romans do call a boar, Verres. There was one Cæcilius, the son of a freed bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the Jews. This Cæcilius would have put by the Sicilians from following the accusation of Verres, and would have had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. Cicero scorning his suit, said unto him: What hath a Jew to do with a swine? This Verres had a son somewhat above twenty years of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beauty. And therefore when Verres one day thought to mock Cicero, saying that he was too effeminate: Thy children (said he) are to be reprov'd of that secretly at home. In this accusation, Hortensius the Orator durst not directly defend Verres: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he had a

sphinx of ivory given him by Verres for his reward. Thereupon Cicero gave him a pretty nip by the way: but Hortensius not understanding him: said he could no skill of dark speeches. Well, said Cicero, yet hast thou a sphinx in thy house. In the end Verres being condemned, and a fine set on his head to the value of threescore and fifteen myriads, Cicero notwithstanding was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a sum. But yet when he came to be *Ædilis*, the Sicilians to shew themselves thankful to him, both brought and sent him many presents out of Sicily. Of all that he took nothing to his own use, but only bestowed their liberality in bringing down the prices of victuals at Rome. He had a goodly house within the confines of the city of Arpos, a farm also by Naples, and another about the city of Pompeii: but all these were no great things. Afterwards also he had the jointer of his wife Terentia, which amounted to the sum of twelve myriads, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleven myriads of their denarii. Thereupon he lived very honestly and soberly, without excess, with his familiar friends that loved him, both Grecians and Romans, and would never go to supper till after sunset, not so much for any great business he had, as for the weakness of his stomach. But otherwise he was very curious, and careful of his person, and would be rubbed and nointed, and he would use also to walk a certain number of turns by proportion: and so exercising his body in that sort, he was never sick, and besides was also very strong and lusty of body, able to abide great pains and sorrows which he fell into afterwards. He gave his father's chief mansion-house to his brother, and went to dwell himself in the Mount Palatine: because such as came to wait upon him to do him honour, should not take the pains to go so far to see him. For, he had as many men daily at his gate every morning, as either Crassus had for his wealth, or Pompey for his estimation among the soldiers both of them being at that time the chiefest men of Rome. Yea furthermore, Pompey's self came unto Cicero, because his orations stood him to great purpose, for the increase of his honour and authority. Now when Cicero came to make suit to be *Prætor* (which is, to be as an ordinary judge) though he had many competitors, and fellow-

suitors with him, yet was he first chosen afore them all: and he did so honestly behave himself in that office, that they did not so much as once suspect him of bribery or extortion. And for proof hereof, it is reported, that Licinius Macer (a man that of himself was of great power, and yet favoured and supported besides by Crassus) was accused before Cicero of theft and extortion in his office: but he trusting much to his supposed credit, and to the great suit and labour his friends made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded against him (the judges being yet to give their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gown upon his back, as though he had been sure to have been quit of his accusation, and then returned again into the market-place. But Crassus went to meet him, and told him all the judges had condemned him. Licinius Macer took such a grief and conceit upon it, that he went home to his house again, laid him down on his bed, and never rose after. This judgement wan Cicero great fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great pains he took, to see justice duly executed. Another called also Vatinius, (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaved himself very unreverently to the magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen neck) came very arrogantly one day unto Cicero being in his Prætorial seat, and asked him a thing which Cicero would not grant him there, but would think of it at better leisure. Thereupon Vatinius told him, that he would not be scrupulous to grant that, if he were Prætor. Cicero turning to him, answered him again: No more have I (said he) such a swollen neck as thou hast. Towards the end of his office, two or three days before his time expired, there was one accused Manilius before him, that he also had robbed the commonwealth. This Manilius was very well beloved of the common people, who were persuaded that he was put in suit, not for any fault he had committed, but only to despise Pompey with, whose familiar friend he was. So he required certain days to answer the matter he was accused of: but Cicero would give him no further respite, but to answer it the next day. The people therewith were marvellously offended, because the other Prætors in such like cases, were wont to give ten days' respite unto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had

brought him before the judges, and also accused him unto them: he besought Cicero to hear him patiently. Cicero made him answer, that having always used as much favour and courtesy as he possibly might by law, unto those that were accused, he thought he should offer Manilius too great wrong, if he should not do the like to him: wherefore, because he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purposely given him that day to make his answer before him. For he thought that to leave his accusation to the hearing of another Prætor, he could not have been thought a man that had borne him good-will, and meant to pleasure him. These words did marvellously change the people's opinion and affection towards him, and every man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend Manilius' cause. He willingly granted them: and coming from the bench, standing at the bar like an orator to plead for him, he made a notable oration, and spake both boldly and sharply against the chief men of the city, and those specially that did envy Pompey. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he found as great favour amongst the nobility, as he did with the communalty. For they did further his suit, for the commonwealth's sake, upon this occasion. The change and alteration of government the which Sulla brought in, was thought strange at the first among the people: but now men by process of time being used to it, it was thoroughly established, and no man disliked it. At that time many men practised to subvert the government, not for the benefit of the commonwealth, but to serve their own covetous minds. For Pompey being then in the east parts, made wars with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and had not left sufficient force at Rome to oppress these seditious persons, that sought nothing but rebellion. These men had made Lucius Catilina their captain: a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise, subtle, and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile faults) for deflowering of his own daughter, and killing his brother: and being afraid to be put in suit for it, he prayed Sulla to put his brother amongst the number of the outlaws (or proscripts) as if he had been then alive. These wicked rebels having chosen them such a captain, were sworn and bound one to another in this manner.

They killed a man, and did eat of his flesh together, and had besides corrupted the most part of all the youth. For Catiline their captain suffered every man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined unto: as to banquet, to follow harlots, and gave them money largely to bestow in these vain expenses. Furthermore all Tuscany began to rise, and the most part of Gaul also, lying between the Alps and Italy. The city of Rome itself was also in great danger of rising, for the inequality of the goods of the inhabitants. For the noblemen, and of greatest courage, had spent all their lands in plays and feasts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their own charge, to curry favour with the common people, that they might obtain the chief offices: so that thereby they became very poor, and their goods were in the hands of the mean men and wretches. Thus the state of Rome stood in great hazard of uproar, the which any man might easily have procured, that durst have taken upon him any change or alteration of government, there was then such division among them in the state. Catiline notwithstanding, to provide him of a strong bulwark to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with Caius Antonius, a man that of himself was apt neither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aid unto him that would attempt anything. Divers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure Cicero to sue for the Consulship. The people accepted him, and rejected Catiline. Antonius and Cicero thereupon were created Consuls, although that Cicero of all the suitors for the Consulship was but only a knight's son, and not the son of a Senator of Rome. Now, though the common people understood not the secret practice and meaning of Catiline: yet at the beginning of Cicero's Consulship, there fell out great trouble and contention in the commonwealth. For they of the one side, whom Sulla had by his ordinances deposed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no small men, neither few in number) began to creep into the people's good-will, alleging many true and just reasons against the tyrannical power of Sulla: howbeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any change or alteration in the commonwealth. The Tribunes on the other

side preferred laws and ordinances to further this device. They preferred the law to choose the Decemviri, with sovereign power and authority through all Italy and Syria, and also through all the countries and provinces which Pompey had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to sell, and release all the lands belonging to the state of Rome, to accuse any man whom they thought good, to banish any man, to restore the colonies with people, to take what money they would out of the treasury, to levy men of war, and to keep them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemviri, there were many men of great accompt that favoured this law, but Antonius chiefly, being colleague and fellow Consul with Cicero, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was privy unto Catiline's conspiracy, and that he misliked it not, because he was so much in debt. And this was it that the noblemen most feared of all other things. Thereupon Cicero, to provide first to prevent this danger, granted him the province of the realm of Macedon: and the province of Gaul being offered unto himself, he refused it. By this good turn, he wan Antonius like a hired player, making him to promise him that he would assist and aid him for the benefit of the commonwealth, and that he would say no more, than he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had won him to his mind: he then began to be the bolder, and more stoutly to resist them that were authors of this innovation and new laws. Cicero therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reprove, and inveigh against this law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes would have established. But thereby he did so terrify the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speak against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once again to have it to pass, and appointed the Consuls to appear before the people. Howbeit Cicero being nothing abashed at it, he commanded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only overthrow this law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes did prefer: but furthermore they were utterly discouraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to pass they intended, he struck them so dead with his eloquence. For Cicero only of all men in Rome

made the Romans know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautify that which is honest, and how invincible right and justice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise governor of a common weal, should always in his doings rather prefer profit, than to seek to curry favour with the common people: yet so to use his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also unpleasant. And to prove his sweet and pleasant tongue, may be alleged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the theatre to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of Rome did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and took their place as they came. The first that made the difference between them, was Marcus Otho, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appointed several seats for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people took this grievously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that Otho coming afterwards into the theatre, all the common people fell a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him room amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honour. Therewith the people fell a whistling louder than before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their hands, and so grew to words one with another: that all the theatre was straight in uproar with it. Cicero understanding it, went thither himself, and calling the people to the temple of the goddess Bellona, he there so sharply reprovèd them, and therewith so persuaded them, that returning presently to the theatre, they did then welcome and receive Otho with clapping of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them should do him greatest honour. But now again, the rebels of Catiline's conspiracy (who were prettily cooled at the first for the fear they stood in) began to be lusty again, and to gather together, boldly encouraging one another to broach their practice, before Pompey returned, who was said to be on the way towards Rome with his army. But besides them, those soldiers that had served before in the wars under Sulla, being dispersed up and down Italy, (but specially the best soldiers among them dwelling in the good towns of Tuscany) did stir up Catiline to hasten the enterprise, per-

suading themselves that they should once again have goods enough at home, to spoil and ransack at their pleasure. These soldiers having one Manlius to their captain, that had borne office in the field under Sulla, conspired with Catiline, and came to Rome to assist him in his suit: who purposed once again to demand the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill Cicero, in the tumult and hurly-burly. The gods also did plainly shew by earthquakes, lightning and thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appear, the secret practice and conspiracy: besides also, there fell out manifest conjectures and proofs by men that came to reveal them, howbeit they had no power sufficient to encounter so noble a man, and of so great power as Catiline was. Cicero therefore deferring the day of election, called Catiline into the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. Catiline supposing there were many in the Senate that had good-wills to rebel, and also because he would shew himself ready unto them that were of his conspiracy: he gave Cicero a gentle answer, and said thus: What do I offend, said he, if that being two bodies in this town, the one lean and weak, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, and of power, having no head, I do give it one? meaning under this dark answer, to signify the people and Senate. This answer being made, Cicero was more afraid than before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the safety of his body, and was accompanied with the chiefest men of Rome, and a great number of young men besides, going with him from his house unto the field of Mars, where the elections were made: and had of purpose left open his jacket loose at the collar, that his brigantine he had on might be seen, thereby to let every man that saw him, know the danger he was in. Every man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assail him. But it so came to pass, that by voices of the people, Catiline was again rejected from the Consulship, and Silanus and Murena chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the soldiers of Tuscany being joined, which should have come to Catiline, and the day appointed being at hand to broach their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of Rome to Cicero's house (Marcus Crassus,

Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bade him wake his master presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speak with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, Crassus' porter brought his master a packet of letters, delivered him by a stranger unknown, which were directed unto divers persons, among the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was only directed unto Crassus himself. The effect of the letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in Rome made by Catiline, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to save himself. Crassus having read his own letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith unto Cicero, partly for fear of the danger, and partly also to clear himself of the suspicion they had of him for the friendship that was betwixt him and Catiline. Cicero counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning assembled the Senate very early, and carrying the letters with him, he did deliver them according to their direction, and commanded they should read them out aloud. All these letters, and every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracy. Furthermore, Quintus Arrius, a man of authority, and that had been Prætor, told openly the soldiers and men of war that were levied in Tuscany. And it is reported also, that Manlius was in the field with a great number of soldiers about the cities of Tuscany, gaping daily to hear news of some change at Rome. All these things being thoroughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should refer the care of the commonwealth unto the Consuls, to the end that with absolute authority they might (as well as they could) provide for the safety and preservation thereof. Such manner of decree and authority, was not often seen concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present fear and danger. Now Cicero having this absolute power, he referred all foreign matters to Quintus Metellus' charge, and did himself take upon him the care and government of all civil affairs within Rome. On the day time when he went up and down the town, he had such a troop of men after him, that when he came through the great market-place, he almost filled it with his train that followed him. Thereupon Catiline would no longer delay time, but resolved to go himself unto Manlius

where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacy one Martius, and another called Cethegus, whom he commanded betimes in the morning to go to Cicero's house with short daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morrow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called Fulvia, who went overnight unto Cicero, and bade him beware of that Cethegus, who indeed came the next morning betimes unto him: and being denied to be let in, he began to chaff and rail before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In the end Cicero coming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of Jupiter Stator, (as much to say, as Stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy street as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was Catiline with others, as though he meant to clear himself of the suspicion that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit down by him, but they did all rise from the bench where Catiline had taken his place. And further, when he began to speak, he could have no audience for the great noise they made against him. So at length Cicero rose, and commanded him to avoid out of Rome: saying, that there must needs be a separation of walls between them two, considering that the one used but words, and the other force of arms. Catiline thereupon immediately departing the city with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walls, but he made his sergeants carry axes and bundles of rod before him, as if he had been a Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensigns of war, and so went in this order to seek Manlius. When they were joined, he had not much less then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the towns to rebel. Now open war being thus proclaimed, Antonius, Cicero's colleague and fellow Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the mean space, Cornelius Lentulus surnamed Sura (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of Catiline's conspiracy, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bade them be afraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recover again the dignity of a Senator which he

had lost. It is reported that this surname of Sura was given him upon this occasion. He being treasurer in Sulla's dictatorship, did fondly waste and consume a marvellous sum of money of the common treasure. Sulla being offended with him for it, and demanding an account of him before the Senate: he carelessly and contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calf of his leg, as children do, when they make a fault at tennis. And thereof it came that ever after that they called him Sura, because Sura in Latin signifieth the calf of the leg. Another time also being accused for a lewd part he had committed, he bribed some of the judges with money, and being only quit by two voices more which he had in his favour, he said he had lost his money he had given to one of those two judges, because it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by Catiline, and lastly marred by certain wizards and false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vain hope, singing verses unto him which they had feigned and devised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of Sibyl's books of prophesy, which said: that there should reign three Cornelii at Rome, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecy, Cinna and Sulla, and for the third, fortune laid it upon him, and therefore bade him go through withal, and not to dream it out losing opportunity as Catiline had done. Now this Lentulus undertook no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other citizens as they could murder, and to set fire of Rome, sparing none but Pompey's sons, whom they would reserve for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with Pompey. For the rumour was very great and certain also, that he returned from very great wars and conquests which he had made in the east countries. So they laid a plot to put their treason in execution, in one of the nights of Saturn's feasts. Further, they had brought flax and brimstone, and a great number of armours and weapons into Cethegus' house. Besides all this provision, they had appointed an hundred men in an hundred parts of the city: to the end that fire being raised in many places at one time, it

should the sooner run through the whole city. Other men also were appointed to stop the pipes and water conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this stir, by chance there were two ambassadors of the Allobroges, whose country at that time did much mislike of the Romans, and were unwilling to be subject unto them. Lentulus thought these men very fit instruments to cause all Gaul to rebel. Thereupon practising with them, he wan them to be of their conspiracy, and gave them letters directed to the council of their country, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other letters also unto Catiline, and persuaded him to proclaim liberty to all bondmen, and to come with all the speed he could to Rome: and sent with them one Titus of the city of Croton, to carry these letters. But all their counsels and purposes (like fools that never met together but at feasts, drinking drunk with light women) were easily found out by Cicero: who had a careful eye upon them, and very wisely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the city to spy their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also took to be of the conspiracy) and knew by them that Lentulus and Cethegus had pactised with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and drawn them into their conspiracy. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he took the ambassadors, and Titus Crotonian with the letters he carried, by help of the ambassadors of the Allobroges, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by break of day, Cicero assembled the Senate in the temple of Concord, and there openly read the letters, and heard the evidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one Junius Silanus a Senator that gave in evidence, that some heard Cethegus say they should kill three Consuls, and four Prætors. Piso a Senator also, and that had been Consul, told in a manner the self same tale. And Caius Sulpicius a Prætor, that was sent into Cethegus' house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armour, daggers and swords new made. Lastly, the Senate having promised Titus Crotonian he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracy:

Lentulus thereby was convinced, and driven to give up his office of Prætor before the Senate, and changing his purple gown, to take another meet for his miserable state. This being done, Lentulus and his consorts were committed to ward, to the Prætor's houses. Now growing towards evening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was assembled, Cicero at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conveyed by all the people unto a friend's house of his hard by: for that his own house was occupied by the ladies of the city, who were busy solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honour of the goddess, called of the Romans the Good Goddess, and of the Grecians Gynæcia, to wit feminine; unto her this yearly sacrifice is done at the Consul's house, by the wife or mother of the Consul then being, the Vestal Nuns being present at it. Now Cicero being come into his neighbour's house, began to bethink him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with severity, according to their deserts, he was afraid to do it: both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not seem to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authority, to punish (as he might) with rigour, citizens that were of the noblest houses of the city, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwise also, being remiss in so weighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might ensue of their rashness, mistrusting that if he should punish them with less than death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate than ever they were: adding moreover the sting and spite of a new malice unto their accustomed wickedness, besides that he himself should be thought a coward and timorous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. Cicero being perplexed thus with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to the ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the fire that was thought to be clean out upon the altar where they had sacrificed, there suddenly rose out of the embers of the rinds or barks which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed all the other ladies. Howbeit the Vestal Nuns willed

Terentia (Cicero's wife) to go straight unto her husband, and to bid him not to be afraid to execute that boldly which he had considered of, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and that the goddess had raised this great flame, to shew him that he should have great honour by doing of it. Terentia, that was no timorous nor faint-hearted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affairs of the state, than otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as Cicero himself reporteth: she went to make report thereof unto him, and prayed him to do execution of those men. The like did Quintus Cicero his brother, and also Publius Nigidius, his friend and fellow-student with him in philosophy, and whose counsel also Cicero followed much in the government of the commonwealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbitrement of the Senate, how these malefactors should be punished: Silanus being asked his opinion first, said that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him, were all of that mind, but Caius Cæsar, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and begun to come forward, but yet such an one, as by his behaviour and the hope he had, took such a course, that afterwards he brought the commonwealth of Rome into an absolute monarchy. For at that time, Cicero had vehement suspicions of Cæsar, but no apparent proof to convince him. And some say, that it was brought so near, as he was almost convicted, but yet saved himself. Others write to the contrary, that Cicero wittingly dissembled, that he either heard or knew any signs which were told him against Cæsar, being afraid indeed of his friends and estimation. For it was a clear case, that if they had accused Cæsar with the rest, he undoubtedly had sooner saved all their lives, than he should have lost his own. Now when Cæsar came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners: he stood up and said: That he did not think it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods: and as for their persons, that they should bestow them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of Italy, as pleased Cicero best, until the war of Catiline were

ended. This sentence being very mild, and the author thereof marvellous eloquent to make it good: Cicero himself added thereunto a counterpoise, inclining unto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of Cæsar. His friends thinking that Cæsar's opinion was the safest for Cicero, because thereby he should deserve less blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death: they followed rather the second. Whereupon Silanus also recanted that he had spoken, and expounded his opinion: saying, That when he spake they should be put to death, he meant nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could have, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was Catulus Lutatius, and after him Cato, who with vehement words enforced Cæsar's suspicion, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and courage: so that even upon the instant it was decreed by most voices, that they should suffer death. But Cæsar stept up again, and spake against the confiscation of their goods, disliking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should stick unto the severest only: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to aid him, to the end they should withstand it: but they would give no ear unto him. Cicero thereupon yielding of himself, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the prisoners: who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take C. Lentulus, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy street and the market-place, accompanied with the chieftest men of the city, who compassed him round about, and guarded his person. The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for fear, passed by, and said never a word: and specially the young men, who thought it had been some solemn mystery for the health of their country, that was so accompanied with the chief magistrate, and the noblemen of the city, with terror and fear. So when he had passed through the market-place, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus into the hands of the hangman, and commanded him to do execution. Afterwards also Cethegus, and then all the rest one after another, whom he brought to the prison him-

self, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market-place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched only till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet alive: he turned unto them, and spake aloud, They lived. This is a phrase of speech which the Romans use sometime, when they will finely convey the hardness of the speech, to say he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market-place, the people did wait upon him no more with silence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of hands in every place he went, and called him Saviour, and second founder of Rome. Besides all this, at every man's door there were links and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streets, as at noon days. The very women also did put lights out of the tops of their houses to do him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long train of the chiefest men of the city, (of the which many of them had ended great wars for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous conquests to the empire of Rome, both by sea and land) confessing between themselves one to another, that the Romans were greatly bound to many captains and generals of armies in their time, for the wonderful riches, spoils, and increase of their power which they had won: howbeit that they were to thank Cicero only, for their health and preservation, having saved them from so great and extreme a danger. Not for that they thought it so wonderful an act to have stricken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death: but because the conspiracy of Catiline being so great and dangerous an insurrection as ever was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it up by the roots, with so small hurt, and without uproar, trouble, or actual sedition. For, the most part of them that were gathered together about Catiline, when they heard that Lentulus and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsook him: and Catiline himself also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against Antonius the other Consul with Cicero, he was slain in the field, and all his army de-

feated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of Cicero for this fact, and meant to make him repent it, having for their heads Cæsar, (who was already chosen Prætor for the year to come) Metellus and Bestia, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They, so soon as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer Cicero to speak to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Consul for certain days. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speak unto the people, they did set their benches upon the pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome, Rostra: and would never suffer him to set foot in it, but only to resign his office, and that done, to come down again immediately. He granted thereunto, and went up to the pulpit upon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an oath, not like unto other Consuls' oaths when they resign their office in like manner, but strange, and never heard of before: swearing, that he had saved the city of Rome, and preserved all his country and the empire of Rome from utter ruin and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and swore the like oath. Wherewithal Cæsar and the other Tribunes his enemies were so offended with him, that they devised to breed him some new stir and trouble: and amongst others, they made a decree, that Pompey should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of Cicero. Cato, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the commonwealth, opposing himself against all their practices, with the like authority and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation than they. So that he did not only easily break all their devices, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled Cicero's Consulship unto them, and the things he did in his office: that they gave him the greatest honours that ever were decreed or granted unto any man living. For by decree of the people he was called Father of the country, as Cato himself had called him in his oration: the which name was never given to any man, but only unto him, and also he bare greater sway in Rome at that time, than any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made himself envied and misliked of many

men, not for any ill act he did, or meant to do: but only because he did too much boast of himself. For he never was in any assembly of people, Senate, or judgement, but every man's head was full still to hear the sound of Catulus and Lentulus brought in for sport, and filling the books and works he compiled besides full of his own praises: the which made his sweet and pleasant style, tedious, and troublesome to those that heard them, as though this misfortune ever followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worm of ambition, and extreme covetous desire of honour in his head, yet did he not malice or envy any other's glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had been before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They have written also certain notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of Aristotle: That he was like a golden flowing river: and of Plato, That if Jupiter himself would speak, he would speak like him: and of Theophrastus, He was wont to call him his delight: and of Demosthenes' orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: The longest said he. There be divers writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of Demosthenes, do follow Cicero's saying in a certain epistle he wrote unto one of his friends, wherein he said that Demosthenes slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tell how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against Antonius (in the which he took great pains, and studied more than all the rest) Philippians: to follow those which Demosthenes wrote against Philip king of Macedon. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honourable speech of him. For he obtained of Cæsar, when he had the empire of Rome in his hands, that Cratippus the Peripatetick philosopher was made citizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was entreated to remain at Athens, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honour and ornament unto their city. There are extant also of Cicero's epistles unto Herodes, and

others unto his son, willing him to follow Cratippus in his study and knowledge. He wrote another letter also unto Gorgias the rhetorician, and forbade him his son's company: because he understood he enticed him to drunkenness, and to other great dishonesty. Of all his epistles he wrote in Greek, there is but that only written in choler, and another which he wrote unto Pelops Byzantine. And for that he wrote to Gorgias, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his letter: because (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewd life and conversation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to Pelops, finding himself grieved with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the Byzantines to ordain some public honours in his behalf: that methinks proceeded of overmuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and only because he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded Munatius' cause before the judges, who shortly after accused Sabinus a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him: What Munatius, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a mist I cast before the judges' eyes, that made them they could not discern the fault? Another time also, having openly praised Marcus Crassus in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: shortly after he spake to the contrary, all the evil he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, said Crassus: didst thou not thyself highly praise me in this place, the last day? I can not deny it, said Cicero: but indeed I took an ill matter in hand to shew mine eloquence. Another time Crassus chanced to say in an open assembly, That none of all the Crassi of his house had ever lived above threescore years: and afterwards again repenting himself, he called it in again, and said, Sure I knew not what I did, when I said so. Cicero answered him again: Thou knewest well enough the people were glad to hear it, and therefore spakest it to please them. Another time Crassus liking the opinion of the Stoic philosophers, that said the wise man was ever rich: Cicero answered him, and bade him consider whether they meant not thereby, that the wise man had

all things. Crassus' covetousness was defamed of every man. Of Crassus' sons, one of them did much resemble Attius, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this son of Crassus made an oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very much. So, Cicero being asked how he liked it: Methinks, said he, it is Attius of Crassus. About this time, Crassus being ready to take his journey into Syria, he desired to have Cicero his friend, rather than his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told Cicero that he would come and sup with him. Cicero said he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friends told him of Vatinius, how he was desirous to be made friends with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth Cicero, and will he come to supper too? Thus he used Crassus. Now this Vatinius having a swollen neck, one day pleading before Cicero: he called him the swollen orator. Another time when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was alive again: A vengeance on him, said he, that hath lied so shamefully. Another time when Cæsar had made a law for the dividing of the lands of Campania unto the soldiers: divers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, Lucius Gellius (a very old man) said, He would never grant it while he lived. Cicero pleasantly answered again, Alas, tarry a little, the good old man will not trouble you long. Another time there was one Octavius, supposed to be an African born. He when Cicero on a time pleaded a matter, said that he heard him not: Cicero presently answered him again, And yet hast thou a hole bored through thine ear. Another time Metellus Nepos told him, That he had overthrown more men by his witness, than he had saved by his eloquence. I grant, said Cicero, for indeed I have more faith, than eloquence in me. So was there also a young man that was suspected to have poisoned his father with a tart, that boasted he would revile Cicero: I had rather have that of thee, quoth Cicero, than thy tart. Publius Sextius also having a matter before the judges, entertained Cicero, with other of his counsellors: but yet he would speak all himself, and give none of the orators leave to say anything. In the end, when they saw plainly that the judges would discharge him, being ready to give sentence:

Cicero said unto him, Bestir thee hardily to-day, for to-morrow Sextius thou shalt be a private man. Another, one Publius Cotta, who would fain have been thought a wise lawyer, and yet had little wit and understanding: Cicero appealed to him as a witness in a matter, and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. Cicero replied to him again: Thou thinkest peradventure they ask thee touching the law. Again, Metellus Nepos, in a certain disputation he had with Cicero, did many times repeat, Who is thy Father? Cicero answered him again: Thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This Nepos' mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtile witted and unconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a gear the exercise of his office, and went into Syria to Pompey, upon no occasion: and as fondly again he returned thence, upon a sudden. His schoolmaister Philager also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a crow of stone upon the top of his tomb. Cicero finding it, told him Thou hast done very wisely: for thy master hath taught thee rather to fly, than to speak. Another time Appius Clodius pleading a matter, said in his preamble that his friend had earnestly requested him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter. O gods, said Cicero, and hast thou shewed thyself so hard-hearted to thy friend, that thou hast performed none of all these he requested thee? Now to use these fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good orator: but so commonly to gird every man to make the people laugh, that wane him great ill-will of many, as shall appear by some examples I will tell you. Marcus Aquinius had two sons-in-law, who were both banished: Cicero therefore called him Adrastus. Lucius Cotta by chance also was Censor at that time, when Cicero sued to be Consul: and being there at the day of the election, he was athirst, and was driven to drink. But while he drank, all his friends stood about him, and after he had drunk, he said unto them: It is well done of ye, said he, to be affraid lest the Censor should be angry with me, because I drink water: for it was reported the Censor loved wine well. Another time Cicero meeting one Voconius with three foul daughters of his with him, he cried out aloud:

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phœbus.

It was thought in Rome that Marcus Gellius was not born of free parents by father and mother, who reading certain letters one day in the Senate very loud: Cicero said unto them that were about him, Wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath been a crier in his days. Faustus, the son of Sulla Dictator at Rome, which set up bills outlawing divers Romans: making it lawful for any man to kill them without danger where they found them: this man after he had spent the most part of his father's goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his household stuff, by bills set up on every post. Cicero when he saw them, Yea marry said he, these bills please me better, than those which his father set up. These taunts and common quips without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill-will that Clodius bare him, began upon this occasion. Clodius was of a noble house, a young man, and very wild and insolent. He being in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, found the means secretly to get into Cæsar's house, apparelled like a young singing wench, because on that day the ladies of Rome did solemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in Cæsar's house, which is not lawful for men to be present at. So there was no man there but Clodius, who thought he should not have been known, because he was but a young man without any hair on his face, and that by this means he might come to Pompeia amongst the other women. He being gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the rooms and chambers in it: there was one of Cæsar's mother's maids of her chamber called Aurelia, who seeing him wandering up and down the house in this sort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to answer, he said he sought for Aura, one of Pompeia's maids. The maid perceived straight it was no woman's voice and therewithal gave a great shrill, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought every corner up and down, so that at length they found him in the maid's chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blown abroad in the city, whereupon Cæsar put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused Clodius, and burdened him that he had profaned the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices.

Cicero at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had ever accompanied him to guard him, if any man would have offered him injury in the busy time of the conspiracy of Catiline. Clodius stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and said that he was not in Rome at that time, but far from thence. Howbeit Cicero gave evidence against him, and deposed, that the self same day he came home to his house unto him, to speak with him about certain matters. This indeed was true, though it seemeth Cicero gave not this evidence so much for the truth's sake, as to please his wife Terentia: for she hated Clodius to the death, because of his sister Clodia that would have married Cicero, and did secretly practice the marriage by one Tullius, who was Cicero's very friend, and because he repaired very often to this Clodia that dwelt hard by Cicero, Terentia began to suspect him. Terentia being a cruel woman, and wearing her husband's breeches: allured Cicero to set upon Clodius in his adversity, and to witness against him, as many other honest men of the city also did: some that he was perjured, others that he committed a thousand lewd parts, that he bribed the people with money, that he had enticed and deflowered many women. Lucullus also brought forth certain maidens which deposed that Clodius had deflowered the youngest of his own sisters, she being in house with him, and married. And there went a great rumour also that he knew his two other sisters, of the which the one was called Terentia, and married unto King Martius: and the other Clodia, whom Metullus Celer had married, and whom they commonly called Quadrantaria: because one of her paramours sent her a purse full of quadrynes (which are little pieces of copper money) instead of silver. Clodius was slandered more by her, than with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gave evidence against him, and accused him. The judges being affraid of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his judgement, for the safety of their persons: and in the tables where they wrote their sentences, their letters for the most part were confusedly set down. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number:

and it was reported also that some of them were close fisted. Catulus therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their sentence, told them: Surely ye had good reason to be well guarded for your safety, for you were afraid your money should have been taken from you, which you took for bribes. And Cicero said unto Clodius, who reproved him that his witness was not true he gave against him: Clean contrary, quoth Cicero, for five and twenty of the judges have believed me, being so many that have condemned thee, and the thirty would not believe thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstanding, in this judgement Cæsar never gave evidence against Clodius: and said moreover, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that Cæsar's wife should not only be clean from any dishonesty, but also void of all suspicion. Clodius being quit of this accusation and trouble, and having also found means to be chosen Tribune: he began straight to persecute Cicero, changing all things, and stirring up all manner of people against him. First he wan the good-will of the common people by devising of new laws which he preferred, for their benefit and commodity: to both the Consuls he granted great and large provinces: unto Piso, Macedon, and to Gabinius Syria. He made also many poor men free citizens, and had always about him a great number of slaves armed. At that present time there were three notable men in Rome, which carried all the sway: Crassus, that shewed himself an open enemy unto Cicero: Pompey the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was Cæsar, who was prepared for his journey into Gaul with an army. Cicero did lean unto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in Catiline's conspiracy) and prayed him that he might go to the wars with him, as one of his lieutenants. Cæsar granted him. Thereupon Clodius perceiving that by this means he got him out of the danger of his office of Tribuneship for that year, he made fair weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himself unto him) and told him that he had cause rather to think ill of Terentia, for that he had done against him, than of

himself, and always spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and said he did think nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a little grieve him, that being a friend, he was offered unkindness by his friend. These sweet words made Cicero no more afraid, so that he gave up his lieutenantcy unto Cæsar, and began again to plead as he did before. Cæsar took this in such disdain, that he hardened Clodius the more against him, and besides, made Pompey his enemy. And Cæsar himself also said before all the people, that he thought Cicero had put Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, unjustly to death, and contrary to law, without lawful trial and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which Cicero was openly accused. Thereupon Cicero seeing himself accused for this fact, he changed his usual gown he wore, and put on a mourning gown: and so suffering his beard and hair of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the people. But Clodius was ever about him in every place and street he went, having a sight of rascals and knaves with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had changed his gown and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast dirt and stones at him, breaking his talk and requests he made unto the people. This notwithstanding, all the knights of Rome did in manner change their gowns with him for company, and of them there were commonly twenty thousand young gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their hair about their ears, and were suitors to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree that the people should mourn in blacks, as in a common calamity: but the Consuls were against it. And Clodius on the other side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, so that many of the Senators ran out of the Senate, crying, and tearing their clothes for sorrow. Howbeit these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moved with pity and shame: but either Cicero must needs absent himself, or else determine to fight with Clodius. Then went Cicero to entreat Pompey to aid him: but he absented himself of purpose out of the city, because he would not be entreated, and lay at one of his houses in the country, near unto the city of Alba. So he first of all

sent Piso his son-in-law unto him to entreat him, and afterwards went himself in person to him. But Pompey being told that he was come, had not the heart to suffer him to come to him, to look him in the face: for he had been past all shame to have refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, and also done and said so many things in his favour. Howbeit Pompey being the son-in-law of Cæsar, did unfortunately (at his request) forsake him at his need, unto whom he was bound for so many infinite pleasures, as he had received of him afore: and therefore when he heard say he came to him, he went out at his back gate and would not speak with him. So Cicero seeing himself betrayed of him, and now having no other refuge to whom he might repair unto: he put himself into the hands of the two Consuls. Of them two, Gabinius was ever cruel, and churlish unto him. But Piso on the other side spake always very courteously unto him, and prayed him to absent himself for a time, and to give place a little to Clodius' fury, and patiently to bear the change of the time: for in so doing, he might come again another time to be the preserver of his country, which was now for his sake in tumult and sedition. Cicero upon this answer of the Consul, consulted with his friends: among the which Lucullus gave him advice to tarry, and said that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speed: for the people would shortly wish for him again, when they had once been beaten with Clodius' fury and folly. Cicero liked best to follow this counsel. Whereupon having had a statue of Minerva a long time in his house, the which he greatly revered: he carried her himself, and gave her to the Capitol with this inscription: Unto Minerva, Protector of Rome. So, his friends having given him safe conduct, he went out of Rome about midnight, and took his way through the country of Luke by land, meaning to go into Sicily. When it was known in Rome that he was fled, Clodius did presently banish him by decree of the people, and caused bills of inhibition to be set up, that no man should secretly receive him within five hundred miles compass of Italy. Howbeit divers men reverencing Cicero, made no reckoning of that inhibi-

tion: but when they had used him with all manner of courtesy possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one city only in Luke, called at that time Hipponium, and now Vibon: where a Sicilian called Vibius, (unto whom Cicero before had done many pleasures, and specially among others, had made him master of the works in the year that he was Consul) would not once receive him into his house, but promised him he would appoint him a place in the country that he might go unto. And Caius Virgilius also, at that time Prætor and governor of Sicily, who before had shewed himself his very great friend: wrote then unto him, that he should not come near unto Sicily. This grieved him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly unto the city of Brundisium, and there embarked to pass over the sea unto Dyrrachium, and at the first had wind at will: but when he was in the main sea, the wind turned, and brought him back again to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoised sail again, and the report went, that at his arrival at Dyrrachium when he took land, the earth shook under him, and the sea gave back together: whereby the soothsayers interpreted, that his exile should not be long, because both the one and the other was a token of change. Yet Cicero, notwithstanding that many men came to see him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities of Greece contended who should most honour him, he was always sad, and could not be merry, but cast his eyes still towards Italy, as passioned lovers do towards the women they love: shewing himself faint-hearted, and took this adversity more basely, than was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him orator, but rather philosopher: saying, That philosophy was his chiefest profession, and that for his eloquence he did not use it, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeth in the commonwealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take man's reason from him, even like a colour, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of state, and to make them feel the self same passions that common people do, by daily frequenting their company: unless they take great heed of them, and that they come to practise in

the commonwealth with this resolute mind, to have to do with the like matters that the common people have, but not to entangle themselves with the like passions and moods, by the which their matters do rise. Now Clodius was not contented that he had banished Cicero out of Italy, but further he burnt all his houses in the country, and his house also in Rome standing in the market-place, of the which he built a temple of liberty, and caused his goods to be sold by the crier: so that the crier was occupied all day long crying the goods to be sold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chieftest men of the city beginning to be affrayed of these violent parts, and having the common people at his commandment, whom he had made very bold and insolent: he began to inveigh against Pompey, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his wars, the which every man else but himself did commend. Pompey then was very angry with himself that he had so forsaken Cicero, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the means he could to call him home again from his banishment. Clodius was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full consent ordained, that nothing should be established for the commonwealth, before Cicero's banishment were first repealed. Lentulus was at that time Consul, and there grew such an uproar and stir upon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market-place, and Quintus Cicero (the brother of Cicero) was slain and hidden under the dead bodies. Then the people began to change their minds. And Annius Milo, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture upon Clodius, and bring him by force to be tried before the judges. Pompey himself also having gotten a great number of men about him, as well of the city of Rome as of other towns adjoining to it, being strongly guarded with them: he came out of his house, and compelled Clodius to get him out of the market-place, and then called the people to give their voices, for the calling home again of Cicero. It is reported that the people never passed thing with so great good-will, nor so wholly together, as the return of Cicero. And the Senate for their parts also, in the behalf of Cicero, ordained that the cities which had honoured and received Cicero in his exile,

should be greatly commended: and that his houses which Clodius had overthrown and razed, should be re-edified at the charge of the commonwealth. So Cicero returned the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and the towns and cities he came by, shewed themselves so joyful of his return, that all manner of men went to meet and honour him, with so great love and affection, that Cicero's report thereof afterwards came indeed short of the very truth as it was. For he said, that Italy brought him into Rome upon their shoulders. Insomuch as Crassus himself, who before his banishment was his enemy, went then with very good-will unto him, and became his friend, saying: That he did it for the love of his son, who loved Cicero with all his heart. Now Cicero being returned, he found a time when Clodius was out of the city, and went with a good company of his friends unto the Capitol, and there took away the tables, and brake them, in the which Clodius had written all his acts that he had passed and done in the time of his Tribuneship. Clodius would afterwards have accused Cicero for it: but Cicero answered him, That he was not lawfully created Tribune, because he was of the Patricians, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was void, and of none effect. Therewith Cato was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of Clodius' doings: (but to the contrary, utterly disliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate should cancel all those things which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the rest that was there which he himself had done in the Isle of Cyprus, and in the city of Byzantium. Hereupon there grew some strangeness betwixt Cicero and Cato, the which notwithstanding brake not out to open enmity: but only to an abstinence of their wonted familiarity, and access one to another. Shortly after, Milo slew Clodius. Milo being accused of murther, prayed Cicero to plead his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of Milo, (who was a hardy man, and of quality besides) would move some sedition and uproar in the city: they gave commission to Pompey to see justice executed as well in this cause, as in other offences, that the city might be quiet, and judgement also executed

with safety. Thereupon Pompey the night before took the highest places of the market-place, by his soldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. Milo fearing that Cicero would be affrayed to see such a number of harness men about him, being no usual matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to plead his cause well: he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his litter into the market-place, and there to stay the coming of the judges, till the place were full. For Cicero was not only fearful in wars, but timorous also in pleading. For indeed he never began to speak, but it was in fear: and when his eloquence was come to the best proof and perfection, he never left his trembling and timorousness. Insomuch that pleading a case for Mucius Murena (accused by Cato,) striving to excel Hortensius, whose pleading was very well thought of: he took no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his mind he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as Hortensius. So, going to defend Milo's cause, when he came out of his litter, and saw Pompey set aloft as if he had been in a camp, and the market-place compassed about with armed men, glistening in every corner: it so amated him, that he could scant fashion himself to speak, all the parts of him did so quake and tremble, and his voice could not come to him. But Milo on the other side stood boldly by him himself, without any fear at all of the judgement of his cause, neither did he let his hair grow, as other men accused did: neither did he wear any mourning gown, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timorousness of Cicero came rather of the good-will he bare unto his friends, than of any cowardly mind of himself. He was also chosen one of the priests of the soothsayers, which they call augurs, in the room of P. Crassus the younger, who was slain in the realm of Parthia. Afterwards the province of Cilicia being appointed to him, with an army of twelve thousand footmen, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen, he took the sea to go thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought Cappadocia again into the subjection and obedience of King Ariobarzanes according to his commission

and commandment given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elsewhere he took as excellent good order as could be devised, in reducing of things to quietness without wars. Furthermore, finding that the Cilicians were grown somewhat stout and unruly, by the overthrow the Romans had of the Parthians, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in Syria: he brought them unto reason by gentle persuasions, and never received gifts that were sent him, no not from kings and princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the provinces of the feasts and banquets they were wont to make other governors before him. On the other side also, he would ever have the company of good and learned men at his table, and would use them well, without curiosity and excess. He had never porter to his gate, nor was seen by any man in his bed: for he would always rise at the break of day, and would walk or stand before his door. He would courteously receive all them that came to salute and visit him. Further they report of him, that he never caused man to be beaten with rods, nor to tear his own garments. In his anger he never reviled any man, neither did despitefully set fine upon any man's head. Finding many things also belonging to the commonwealth, which private men had stolen and embezzled to their own use: he restored again unto the cities, whereby they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did save their honour and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but only constrained them to restore that which was the commonwealth's. He made a little war also, and drave away the thieves that kept about the mountain Amanus, for the which exploit his soldiers called him *Imperator*, to say, chief captain. About that time there was an orator called *Cæcilius*, who wrote unto him from Rome, to pray him to send him some leopards, or panthers out of Cilicia, because he would shew the people some pastime with them. Cicero boasting of his doings, wrote to him again, that there were no more leopards in Cilicia, but that they were all fled into Caria for anger, that seeing all things quiet in Cilicia, they had leisure now to hunt them. So when he returned towards Rome, from the charge of his government, he came by Rhodes: and stayed a few days at Athens, with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he

lived there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefest learned men of the city, and his friends also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honourable entertainment in Greece that could be: he returned unto Rome, where at his arrival he found great factions kindled, the which men saw plainly would grow in the end to civil war. Thereupon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in triumph into the city: he answered, That he would rather (all parties agreed) follow Cæsar's coach in triumph. So he travelled very earnestly between Pompey and Cæsar, eftsoons writing unto Cæsar, and also speaking unto Pompey that was present, seeking all the means he could, to take up the quarrel and misliking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speech of agreement would take place. So Pompey hearing that Cæsar was not far from Rome, he durst no longer abide in Rome, but fled with divers of the greatest men in Rome. Cicero would not follow him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take part with Cæsar: but this is certain, that he was in a marvellous perplexity, and could not easily determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his epistles: What way should I take? Pompey hath the juster and honester cause of war, but Cæsar can better execute, and provide for himself and his friends with better safety: so that I have means enough to fly, but none to whom I might repair. In all this stir, there was one of Cæsar's friends called Trebatius, which wrote a letter unto Cicero, and told him that Cæsar wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he undertook: but if he excused himself by his age, that then he should get him into Greece, and there to be quiet from them both. Cicero marvelling that Cæsar wrote not to him himself, answered in anger, That he would do nothing unworthy of his acts all the days of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now Cæsar being gone into Spain, Cicero embarked immediately to go to Pompey. So when he came unto him, every man was very glad of his coming, but Cato. Howbeit Cato secretly reproved him for coming unto Pompey, saying: That for himself he had been without all honesty

at that time to have forsaken that part, the which he had always taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the commonwealth: but for him on the other side, that it had been better for the safety of his country, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had been a neuter to both, and so to have taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become Cæsar's enemy, and by coming thither to put himself into so great peril. These persuasions of Cato overthrew all Cicero's purpose and determination, besides that Pompey himself did not employ him in any matter of service or importance. But hereof himself was more in fault than Pompey, because he confessed openly that he did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all Pompey's preparations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in jealousy and suspicion. Also he would ever be fleering and gibing at those that took Pompey's part, though he had no list himself to be merry. He would also go up and down the camp very sad and heavy, but yet he would ever have one jest or other to make men laugh, although they had as little lust to be merry as he: and surely, it shall do no hurt to call some of them to mind in this place. Domitius being very desirous to prefer a gentleman to have charge of men, to recommend him, he said he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereto Cicero presently answered: Why dost thou not keep him then to bring up thy children? Another time when they commended Theophanes Lesbian (that was maister of all the artificers of the camp) because he had notably comforted the Rhodians when they had received a great loss of their navy: See, said Cicero, what a goodly thing it is to have a Grecian, maister of artificers in the camp! When both battels came to join together, and that Cæsar had in manner all the advantage, and kept them as good as besieged: Lentulus told him on a time, that he heard say all Cæsar's friends were mad, and melancholy men. Why, quoth Cicero to him again: dost thou say that they do envy Cæsar? Another called Marcius, coming lately out of Italy, said, That ner all the advantage, and kept them as good as besieged: What, quoth Cicero to him again: and didst thou take ship

to come and see him thy self, because thou mightest believe it, when thou hadst seen it? Pompey being overthrown, one Nonnius said there was yet good hope left, because they had taken seven eagles within Pompey's camp. Thy persuasion were not ill, quoth Cicero, so we were to fight but with pyes or daws. Labienus reposed all his trust in certain oracles, that Pompey of necessity must have the upper hand. Yea said Cicero, but for all this goodly stratagem of war, we have not long since lost our whole camp. After the battell of Pharsalia, where Cicero was not by reason of his sickness: Pompey being fled, and Cato at that time at Dyrrachium, where he had gathered a great number of men of war, and had also prepared a great navy: he prayed Cicero to take charge of all this army, as it pertained unto him, having been Consul. Cicero did not only refuse it, but also told them he would meddle no more with this war. But this was enough to have made him been slain: for the younger Pompey and his friends called him traitor, and drew their swords upon him to kill him, which they had done, had not Cato stepped between them and him, and yet had he much ado to save him, and to convey him safely out of the camp. When Cicero came to Brundisium, he stayed there a certain time for Cæsar's coming, who came but slowly, by reason of his troubles he had in Asia, as also in Egypt. Howbeit news being brought at length that Cæsar was arrived at Tarentum, and that he came by land unto Brundisium: Cicero departed thence to go meet him, not mistrusting that Cæsar would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his enemy being a conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or speak anything unseemly to his calling. For Cæsar seeing him coming towards him far before the rest that came with him: he lighted from his horse and embraced him, and walked a great way afoot with him, still talking with him only, and ever after he did him great honour and made much of him. Insomuch as Cicero having written a book in praise of Cato: Cæsar on the other side wrote another, and praised the eloquence and life of Cicero, matching it with the life of Pericles, and Theramenes. Cicero's book was entitled *Cato*, and Cæsar's book called *Anticato*, as much to say as against Cato. They say

further, that Quintus Ligarius being accused to have been in the field against Cæsar, Cicero took upon him to defend his cause: and that Cæsar said unto his friends about him, What hurt is it for us to hear Cicero speak, whom we have not heard of long time? For otherwise Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemy. But when Cicero had begun his oration, he moved Cæsar marvellously, he had so sweet a grace, and such force in his words: that it is reported Cæsar changed divers colours, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a marvellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the orator came to touch the battell of Pharsalia, then was Cæsar so troubled, that his body shook withal, and besides, certain books he had, fell out of his hands, and he was driven against his will to set Ligarius at liberty. Afterwards, when the commonwealth of Rome came to be a kingdom, Cicero leaving to practise any more in the state, he gave himself to read philosophy to the young men that came to hear him: by whose access unto him (because they were the chiefest of the nobility in Rome) he came again to bear as great sway and authority in Rome, as ever he had done before. His study and endeavour was, to write matters of philosophy dialogue-wise, and to translate out of Greek into Latin, taking pains to bring all the Greek words, which are proper unto logic and natural causes, unto Latin. For he was the first man by report that gave Latin names unto these Greek words, which are proper until philosophers, as *phantasia*, he termed, *visio*, *katathesis assensus*, *epochē assensus cohibitio*, *katalēpsis*, *comprehensio*, to *atomon corpus individuum*, to *ameres corpus simplex*, to *kenon vacuum*, and many other suchlike words. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did devise and use them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper terms: so that at length they came to be well taken, known, and understood of every man. And for his readiness in writing of verses, he would use them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whensoever he took in hand to make any, he would despatch five hundred of them in a night. Now, all that time of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some

of his houses in the country, which he had near unto Tusculum, from whence he would write unto his friends, that he led Laertes' life: either spoken merrily as his manner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, desiring to return again to be a practiser in the commonwealth, being weary with the present time and state thereof. Howsoever it was, he came oftentimes to Rome, only to see Cæsar to keep him his friend, and would ever be the first man to confirm any honours decreed unto him, and was always studious to utter some new matter to praise him and his doings. As that was he said touching the statues of Pompey, the which being overthrown, Cæsar commanded them to be set up again, and so they were. For Cicero said, That by that courtesy in setting up of Pompey's statues again, he did establish his own. So Cicero being determined to write all the Roman history, and to mingle with them many of the Grecians' doings, adding thereunto all the fables and devices which they do write and report: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and private troubles that came upon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he himself was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife Terentia, because she had made but small account of him in all the wars: so that he departed from Rome having no necessary thing with him to entertain him out of his country, and yet when he came back again into Italy, she never shewed any spark of love or goodwill towards him. For she never came to Brundisium to him where he remained a long time: and worse than that, his daughter having the heart to take so long a journey in hand to go to him, she neither gave her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture convenient for her, but so handled the matter, that Cicero at his return to Rome found bare walls in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt besides. And these were the honestest causes alleged for their divorce. But besides that Terentia denied all these, Cicero himself gave her a good occasion to clear her self, because he shortly after married a young maiden, being fallen in fancy with her (as Terentia said) for her beauty: or, as Tyro his servant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her goods he might pay his debts. For she was very rich, and

Cicero also was appointed her guardian, she being left sole heir. Now, because he owed a marvellous sum of money, his parents and friends did counsel him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might satisfy his creditors. But Antonius speaking of this marriage of Cicero, in his answers and orations he made against the Philippians: he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was grown old, being merry with him by the way for that he had been an idle man, and never went from the smoke of his chimney, nor had been abroad in the wars in any service of his country or commonwealth. Shortly after that he had married his second wife, his daughter died in labour of child, in Lentulus' house, whose second wife she was, being before married unto Piso, who was her first husband. So the philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he took her death so sorrowfully, that he put away his second wife, because he thought she did rejoice at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house. Now touching the conspiracy against Cæsar, he was not made privy to it, although he was one of Brutus' greatest friends, and that it grieved him to see things in that state they were brought unto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But indeed the conspirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked hardiness: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the stoutest and most hardiest natures faint-hearted and cowardly. Notwithstanding the conspiracy being executed by Brutus and Cassius, Cæsar's friends being gathered together, every man was afraid that the city would again fall into civil wars. And Antonius also, who was Consul at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things again unto quietness. But Cicero having used divers persuasions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the example of the Athenians) a general oblivion of things done against Cæsar, and to assign unto Brutus and Cassius some governments of provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themselves were sorry, when they saw Cæsar's body brought through the market-place. And when Antonius also did shew

them his gown all bebloodied, cut and thrust through with swords: then they were like madmen for anger, and sought up and down the market-place if they could meet with any of them that had slain him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ran to their houses to set them afire. But the conspirators having prevented this danger, saved themselves: and fearing that if they tarried at Rome, they should have many such alarms, they forsook the city. Then Antonius began to look aloft, and became fearful to all men, as though he meant to make himself king: but yet most of all unto Cicero, above all others. For Antonius perceiving that Cicero began again to increase in credit and authority, and knowing that he was Brutus' very friend: he did mislike to see him come near him, and besides, there was at that time some jealousy betwixt them, for the diversity and difference of their manners and dispositions. Cicero being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with Dolabella to his province of Syria, as one of his lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next year following after Antonius, two noble citizens, and Cicero's great friends, Hirtius and Pansa: they entreated him not to forsake them, undertaking that they would pluck down this overgreat power of Antonius, so he would remain with them. But Cicero, neither believing nor altogether mistrusting them, forsook Dolabella, and promised Hirtius and Pansa, that he would spend the sommer at Athens, and that he would return again to Rome so soon as they were entered into their Consulship. With this determination Cicero took sea alone, to go into Greece. But as it chanceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not sail, and news came to him daily from Rome, as the manner is, that Antonius was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authority and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his person, to make all things well. Then Cicero condemning his dastardly fear, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meet him, that he could do nothing all day long, but take them by the hands, and embrace them: who to honour him, came to meet him at the gate of the city, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The

next morning Antonius assembled the Senate, and called for Cicero by name. Cicero refused to go, and kept his bed, feigning that he was weary with his journey and pains he had taken the day before: but indeed, the cause why he went not, was, for fear and suspicion of an ambush that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. Antonius was marvellously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore sent soldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house afire. After that time, Cicero and he were always at jar, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed of another: until that the young Cæsar returning from the city of Apollonia, came as lawful heir unto Julius Cæsar Dictator, and had contention with Antonius for the sum of two thousand five hundred myriads, the which Antonius kept in his hands of his father's goods. Thereupon, Philip who had married the mother of this young Cæsar, and Marcellus, who had also married his sister, went with young Cæsar unto Cicero, and there agreed together, that Cicero should help young Cæsar with the favour of his authority and eloquence, as well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that Cæsar in recompense of his good-will should stand by Cicero, with his money and soldiers. For this young Cæsar, had many of his father's old soldiers about him, that had served under him. Now there was another cause that made Cicero glad to embrace the friendship of this young Cæsar, and that was this. Whilst Pompey and Julius Cæsar were alive, and in good case: Cicero dreamed one night that the Senator's sons were called into the Capitol, because Jupiter had appointed to shew them him, that one day should come to be lord and king of Rome, and that the Romans being desirous to see who it should be, ran all unto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly guarded gowns of purple, until that suddenly the doors of the temple were open, and then that all the children rose one after another, and went and passed by the image of Jupiter, who looked upon them all, and sent them discontented, saving this young Cæsar, unto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and said: My lords of Rome, this

child is he that shall end all your civil wars, when he cometh to be lord of Rome. Some say, that Cicero had this vision in his dream, and that he carried in good memory the look of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of Mars, where these young boys did exercise themselves, who, when they came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home, and that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose son he was. The boy answered, that he was the son of one Octavius (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of Atia, the sister of Julius Cæsar: who having no child, made him his heir by his last will and testament, and left him all his lands and goods. After that time, it is reported, that Cicero was very glad to speak to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked Cicero's friendship, and making of him: for by good hap the boy was born the same year that Cicero was Consul. And these be the reasons alleged, why Cicero did favour this young Cæsar. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare unto Antonius, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honour, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young Cæsar's friend: knowing that the force and power of his soldiers, would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in managing the affairs of the state, besides that the young man could flatter him so well, that he called him father. But Brutus being offended with him for it, in his epistles he wrote unto Atticus, he sharply reproveth Cicero, saying, That for fear of Antonius he flattered this young Cæsar: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seek for the liberty of Rome, as he did procure himself a loving and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, Brutus brought with him Cicero's son that studied philosophy at Athens, and gave him charge of men under him and employed him in great affairs, wherein he shewed himself very forward and valiant. Now Cicero's authority and power grew again to be so great in Rome, as ever it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed Antonius, that he drave him out of the city, and sent the two Consuls Hirtius and Pansa against him, to fight with him: and caused the

Senate also to decree, that young Cæsar should have sergeants to carry rods and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his country. After that Antonius had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slain, both the armies came unto Cæsar. The Senate then being affraid of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they practised by honours and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatness of his power: saying, That their country now stood in no need of force nor fear of defence, sith her enemy Antonius was fled and gone. Cæsar fearing this, sent men secretly unto Cicero, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls and that when they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, having the young man at his commandment, who desired no more but the honour only of the name. Cæsar himself confessed afterwards, that being afraid he should have been utterly cast away, to have been left alone: he finely served his turn by Cicero's ambition, having persuaded him to require the Consulship, through the help and assistance that he would give him. But there was Cicero finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalf, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproved him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had undone himself, and together also lost the liberty of his country. For this young man Octavius Cæsar being grown to be very great by his means and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consulship upon him, he forsook Cicero, and agreed with Antonius and Lepidus. Then joining his army with theirs, he divided the empire of Rome with them, as if it had been lands left in common between them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and upwards, whom they had appointed to be slain. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out between them, was about the outlawing of Cicero. For Antonius would hearken to no peace between them, unless Cicero were slain first of all: Lepidus was also in the same mind with Antonius: but Cæsar was against them both. Their meeting was by the city of Bolonia, where they continued three days

together, the three only secretly consulting in a place environed about with a little river. Some say that Cæsar stuck hard with Cicero the two first days, but at the third, that he yielded and forsook him. The exchange they agreed upon between them, was this. Cæsar forsook Cicero: Lepidus, his own brother Paulus: and Antonius, Lucius Cæsar his uncle by the mother's side. Such place took wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor blood, and to speak more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beast is so cruel as man, if with his licentiousness he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a-brewing, Cicero was at a house of his in the country, by the city of Tusculum, having at home with him also his brother Q. Cicero. News being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slain: they determined to go to Astyra, a place by the seaside where Cicero had another house, there to take sea, and from thence to go into Macedon unto Brutus. For there ran a rumour that Brutus was very strong, and had a great power. So, they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weak with sorrow and grief, that they could not otherwise have gone their ways. As they were on their way, both their litters going as near to each other as they could, they bewailed their miserable state: but Quintus chiefly, who took it most grievously. For, remembering that he took no money with him when he came from his house, and that Cicero his brother also had very little for himself: he thought it best that Cicero should hold on his journey, whilst he himself made an errand home to fetch such things as he lacked, and so to make haste again to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the tears falling from their eyes, they took leave of each other. Within few days after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his own servants, unto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slain, and his son with him. But Marcus Tullius Cicero being carried unto Astyra, and there finding a ship ready, embarked immediately, and sailed along the coast unto Mount Circeum, having a good gale of wind. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sail again, he came ashore, either for fear of the sea, or

for that he had some hope that Cæsar had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithal returning towards Rome by land, he had gone about a hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a strait how to resolve, and suddenly changing his mind: he would needs be carried back again to the sea, where he continued all night marvellous sorrowful, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in mind to go secretly unto Octavius Cæsar's house, and to kill himself by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood: but being affraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other unadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himself again into his servants' hands, to be conveyed by sea to another place called Capitæ. There he had a very proper pleasant summer-house, where the north winds, called etesiæ, do give a trim fresh air in the summer season. In that place also there is a little temple dedicated unto Apollo, not far from the seaside. From thence there came a great shoal of crows, making a marvellous noise, that came flying towards Cicero's ship, which rowed upon the shore side. This shoal of crows came and lighted upon the yard of their sail, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged straight, that this was a sign of ill-luck at hand. Cicero notwithstanding this, came ashore, and went into his house, and laid him down to see if he could sleep. But the most part of these crows came and lighted upon the chamber window where he lay, making a wonderful great noise: and some of them got unto Cicero's bed where he lay, the clothes being cast over his head, and they never left him, till by little and little they had with their bills plucked off the clothes that covered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to themselves that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarry to see their master slain before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to save his life, seeing him so unworthily entreated, and that they should not do the best they could to save his life: partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they put him again into his litter to carry him to the sea. But in the meantime came the murderers appointed to kill him, Herennius a Centurion, and Popilius Lænas, Tribune of the soldiers (to

wit, colonel of a thousand men, whose cause Cicero had once pleaded before the judges, when he was accused for the murder of his own father) having soldiers attending upon them. So Cicero's gate being shut, they entered the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called Philologus, a slave enfranchised by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought up in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberal sciences: he told this Herennius, that his servants carried him in a litter towards the sea, through dark narrow lanes, shadowed with wood on either side. Popilius the colonel taking some soldiers with him, ran about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them: and Herennius on the other side entered the lanes. Cicero hearing him coming, commanded his men to set down his litter, and taking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he stoutly looked the murderers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face lean and wrinkled, for the extreme sorrows he had taken: divers of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, whilst Herennius did cruelly murder him. So Cicero being three-score and four years of age, thrust his neck out of the litter, and had his head cut off by Antonius' commandment, and his hands also, which wrote the orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Cicero call the orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and do yet continue the same name until this present time. When these poor dismembred members were brought to Rome, Antonius by chance was busily occupied at that time about the election of certain officers: who when he heard of them, and saw them, he cried out aloud that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereupon commanded his head and his hands should straight be set up over the pulpit for orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearful and horrible sight unto the Romans, who thought they saw not Cicero's face, but an image of Antonius' life and disposition: who among so many wicked deeds as he committed, yet he did one act only that had some shew of goodness, which was this. He delivered Philologus into the hands of Pomponia, the

wife of Quintus Cicero: and when she had him, besides other cruel torments she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his own flesh off by little morsels, and to broil them, and then to eat them. Some historiographers do thus report it. But Tyro who was a slave enfranchised by Cicero, made no mention of the treason of this Philologus. Howbeit I understood that Cæsar Augustus long time after that, went one day to see one of his nephews, who had a book in his hand of Cicero's: and he fearing lest his uncle would be angry to find that book in his hands, thought to hide it under his gown. Cæsar saw it, and took it from him, and read the most part of it standing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and said unto him: He was a wise man indeed, my child, and loved his country well. After he had slain Antonius, being Consul, he made Cicero's son his colleague and fellow Consul with him, in whose time the Senate ordained that the images of Antonius should be thrown down, and deprived his memory of all other honours: adding further unto his decree, that from thenceforth none of the house and family of the Antony should ever after bear the christen name of Marcus. So, God's justice made the extreme revenge and punishment of Antonius to fall into the house of Cicero.

THE COMPARISON OF CICERO WITH DEMOSTHENES

THIS is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable acts and deeds worthy of memory, written of Cicero and Demosthenes. Furthermore, leaving the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their orations: me thinks I may say thus much of them. That Demosthenes did wholly emply all his wit and learning (natural or artificial) unto the art of rhetoric, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excel all the orators in his time: and for gravity and magnificent style, all those also that only write for shew or ostentation: and for sharpness and art, all the sophisters and masters of rhetoric. And that Cicero was a man generally learned in all sciences, and that had studied divers books, as appeareth plainly by the sundry books of philosophy of his own making, written after the manner of the Academic philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his orations he wrote in certain causes to serve him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his by-talk to shew men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discern some spark of their manners and conditions. For Demosthenes' phrase hath no manner of fineness, jests, nor grace in it, but is altogether grave and harsh, and not only smelleth of the lamp, as Pytheas said when he mocked him, but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreme pains, and therewith also a sharp and sour nature. But Cicero oftentimes fell from pleasant taunts, unto plain scurrility: and turning all his pleading of matters of importance to sport and laughter having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comeliness that became a man of his calling. As in his oration for Cælius where he saith, It is no marvel if in so great abundance of wealth and fineness he give himself a little to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to use pleasures lawful and tolerable, sith the famousest philosophers that ever were, did place the chief felicity of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also that Marcus Cato having accused Murena, Cicero being

Consul, defended his cause, and in his oration pleasantly girded all the sect of the Stoic philosophers for Cato's sake, for the strange opinions they hold, which they call paradoxes: inso-much as he made all the people and judges also fall a-laughing a good. And Cato himself also smiling a little, said unto them that sat by him: What a laughing and mocking Consul have we, my lords? but letting that pass, it seemeth that Cicero was of a pleasant and merry nature: for his face shewed ever great life and mirth in it. Whereas in Demosthenes' countenance on the other side, they might discern a marvellous diligence and care, and a pensive man, never weary with pain: insomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth himself) called him a perverse and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his own praise, so as no man can justly be offended with him: and yet not always, but when necessity enforceth him for some matter of great importance, but otherwise very discreet and modest to speak of himself. Cicero in contrary manner, using too often repetition of one self thing in all his orations, shewed an extreme ambition of glory, when incessantly he cried out:

Let spear and shield give place to gown,
And give the tongue the laurel crown.

Yea furthermore, he did not only praise his own acts and deeds, but the orations also which he had written or pleaded, as if he should have contended against Isocrates, or Anaximenes, a master that taught rhetoric, and not to go about to reform the people of Rome:

Which were both fierce and stout in arms,
And fit to work their enemies harms.

For, as it is requisite for a governor of a commonwealth to seek authority by his eloquence: so, to covet the praise of his own glorious tongue, or as it were to beg it, that sheweth a base mind. And therefore in this point we must confess that Demosthenes is far greater, and of a nobler mind: who declared himself, That all his eloquence came only but by practice, the which also required the favour of his auditory: and further, he thought them fools and madmen (as indeed they

be no less) that therefore would make any boast of themselves. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authority in their orations to the people, and for obtaining that they would propound: insomuch as captains, and they that had armies in their hands, stood in need of their eloquence. As Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, they all were holpen of Demosthenes: and Pompey, and Octavius Cæsar the young man, of Cicero: as Cæsar himself confesseth in his commentaries he wrote unto Agrippa, and Mæcenus. But nothing sheweth a man's nature and condition more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) than when one is in authority: for that bewrayeth his humour, and the affections of his mind, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. Demosthenes could never deliver any such proof of himself, because he never bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not general of the army, which he himself had prepared against King Philip. Cicero, on the other side being sent Treasurer into Sicily, and Pro-consul into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in such a time as covetousness reigned most: (insomuch that the captains and governors whom they sent to govern their provinces, thinking it villainy and dastardliness to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloved for it) he shewed plainly that he regarded not money, and gave forth many proofs of his courtesy and goodness. Furthermore, Cicero being created Consul by name, but Dictator in deed, having absolute power and authority over all things to suppress the rebellion and conspirators of Catiline: he proved Plato's prophecy true, which was: That the cities are safe from danger, when the chief magistrates and governors (by some good divine fortune) do govern with wisdom and justice. Demosthenes was reproved for his corruption, and selling of his eloquence: because secretly he wrote one oration for Phormio, and another in the self same matter for Apollodorus, they being both adversaries. Further, he was defamed also for receiving money of the King of Persia, and therewithal condemned for the money which he had taken of Harpalus. And though some peradventure would object, that the reports thereof (which are many) do lie: yet they cannot

possibly deny this, that Demosthenes had no power to refrain from looking on the presents which divers kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take usury by traffick on the sea, the extremest yet of all other. In contrary manner (as we have said before) it is certain that Cicero being Treasurer, refused the gifts which the Sicilians offered him, there: and the presents also which the king of the Cappadocians offered him whilst he was Pro-consul in Calicia, and those especially which his friends pressed upon him to take of them, being a great sum of money, when he went as a banished man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by judgement he was banished as a thief. The banishment of the other was for as honourable an act as ever he did, being banished for ridding his country of wicked men. And therefore of Demosthenes, there was no speech after he was gone: but for Cicero, all the Senate changed their apparel into black, and determined that they would pass no decree by their authority, before Cicero's banishment was revoked by the people. Indeed Cicero idly passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in Macedon: and one of the chiefest acts that Demosthenes did, in all the time that he dealt in the affairs of the commonwealth, was in his banishment. For he went into every city, and did assist the ambassadors of the Grecians, and refused the ambassadors of the Macedonians. In the which he shewed himself a better citizen, than either Themistocles, or Alcibiades, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell again to his old trade which he practised before, and was ever against Antipater, and the Macedonians. Where Lælius in open Senate sharply took up Cicero, for that he sat still and said nothing, when that Octavius Cæsar the young man made petition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulship, and being so young, that he had never a hair on his face. And Brutus self also doth greatly reprove Cicero in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grievous and greater tryanny, than that which they had put down. And last of all, me thinketh the death of Cicero most pitiful, to see an old man carried up and down (with tender

love of his servants) seeking all the ways that might be to fly death, which did not long prevent his natural course: and in the end, old as he was, to see his head so pitifully cut off. Whereas Demosthenes, though he yielded a little, entreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poison long before, that he had kept it long, and also used it as he did, he cannot but be marvellously commended for it. For sith the god Neptune denied him the benefit of his sanctuary, he betook him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he saved himself out of the soldiers' hands of the tyrant, and also scorned the bloody cruelty of Antipater.

THE
PANEGYRICUS

AN ORATION OF
ISOCRATES

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ISOCRATES

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ISOCRATES

ISOCRATES was the fourth of the "ten Attic orators," the other nine, in chronological order, being Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus. [See page 17.]

He was born in the beginning of the eighty-sixth Olympiad during the archonship of Lysimachus, *i.e.*, in B.C. 436, five years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. His father was an Athenian citizen, named Theodorus, belonging to the deme, or district, of Erchia: he was a well-to-do member of the middle class, his income being derived from a flute manufactory. He served the state as choregus:¹ in the words of his son, "he made himself useful to the state, and educated us so carefully, that at that time I was more famous and better known amongst my fellow-pupils than I am now amongst my fellow-citizens." When he grew up, Isocrates further studied under some of the most famous sophists, or professors of wisdom, such as Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, the author of the well-known fable of the "choice of Heracles,"² Tisias of Syracuse, and above all, Gorgias of Leontini. The Athenian statesman and orator, Theramenes, is also said to have been one of his teachers: at any rate, the story goes that when, during the rule of the Thirty at Athens, Theramenes was unjustly condemned by Critias, Isocrates rose and stoutly defended him, showing that, if the story be true, he could on emergency overcome his natural defect of want of nerve. He was never admitted into the inner Socratic "circle," but his moral and intellectual character was doubtless influenced by the great teacher, with whom he enjoyed a certain amount of

¹ The chorēgia, or duty of defraying the cost of the production of the public choruses, was one of the Athenian public services.

² See the translation of it in volume four.

intimacy. He is said to have appeared in mourning in the streets after the death of Socrates, but it is doubtful whether his feelings towards him were so pronounced as this would seem to imply: his only passage in which Socrates is mentioned does not display much personal enthusiasm. However, Socrates on his part had the highest opinion of Isocrates: this may be gathered from the *Phaedrus* of Plato, where he says that, as Isocrates advances in years (he was at the time about thirty years of age) he will outstrip all his competitors in the kind of oratory to which he is devoting his attention: further, that in case he should not be satisfied with this, divine impulse might lead him on to greater things; for, he adds, the man is endowed by nature with a certain philosophy.

Isocrates himself tells us that he was debarred from taking an active part in public life by reason of two natural defects: he possessed neither a strong voice nor a sufficient amount of self-confidence or "nerve" to enable him to hold his own against the noisy demagogues of the ecclesia or public assembly, or in the law courts, and, as he himself puts it, men who are deficient in those qualities are less held in honour than insolvent public debtors. He was naturally of a retiring disposition, and shy in the presence of strangers: and it was not until he was driven to it by actual necessity that he began to lead a more active life.

During the last years of the Peloponnesian war, his father lost all his property, and Isocrates was compelled to look about for a means of gaining a livelihood. He had been extravagant in his youth—among other things he was fond of the turf—so that on the whole this was the best thing that could have happened to him. Authorities are not agreed as to the manner in which his time was spent until the establishment of his school at Athens, but the following account is considered most probable. After the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, and the restoration of the democracy, he took to writing legal or forensic speeches for others, and was engaged in this work for ten years (B.C. 403-393): of this period of his literary career he afterwards speaks in most contemptuous terms. In B.C. 393 or B.C. 392 he went to the island of Chios, where he gained considerable reputation as a teacher, and returned to Athens

about B.C. 390, where he set up a regular school of rhetoric near the Lyceum, the chief of the Athenian Gymnasia.

At that time Athens was the centre of attraction of the ancient world, and a favorite resort of foreign visitors, who went thither both for pleasure and instruction. Athens, says Isocrates, is rightly regarded as the recognised teacher of all capable orators and trainers of thought and expression, so that not without reason all masters of eloquence are considered pupils of Athens. Many rich young men came from Sicily, and even from Pontus and the colonies of the Euxine, to prosecute their studies under the teachers of note. The school of Isocrates was largely attended, especially by foreigners, his name having become widely known through his writings. His earliest Athenian pupils are mentioned by name in the speech called *Antidosis*: one of his later pupils was Timotheus (son of the famous Athenian admiral Conon), whom he is said to have accompanied on his campaigns, receiving a fee of a talent (£250) from the spoil of Samos for composing his despatches: it was through this Timotheus that Isocrates became acquainted with the princes of Salamis in Cyprus. Among his pupils may also be mentioned the historians Ephorus and Theopompus: the tragedians Asclepiades, Astydames, and Theodectes: the orators Hyperides, Isaeus, and Lycurgus: the archaeologist Androtion: and lastly, Isocrates of Apollonia, his successor. He is said to have had a hundred pupils altogether: the above names are sufficient evidence of his reputation as a teacher, and of the different classes from which they were drawn. All the competitions for the prize of oratory instituted by Artemisia, widow of the Carian prince, Mausolus, were pupils of Isocrates, the winner being Theopompus.

Isocrates amassed considerable wealth by his profession: the fee which he demanded from foreigners was a thousand drachmae (£40): it is said that he gave gratuitous instruction to his fellow-citizens, but we can scarcely believe that: he also received handsome presents from Nicocles and Evagoras. He was one of the 1,200 wealthiest Athenian citizens, who constituted the twenty symmories, or associations formed for the purpose of equipping vessels of war: this duty, called *trierarchia*, was one of the most expensive of the public services.

He was three times trierarch: his first and only lawsuit was in B.C. 355, in reference to one of these very trierarchies.

Although he was prevented by the natural and physical defects mentioned above from taking a prominent part in public affairs, the influence Isocrates exercised in Athens and the Hellenic world generally was considerable. As he himself says in a letter to the government officials of Mitylene: "Although I have avoided political life and public speaking, as I possessed neither sufficient voice nor self-confidence, I have not, however, been altogether useless or without reputation, but it will be found that I have been both counsellor and supporter to those who have undertaken to give good advice concerning your interests and those of the rest of the allies, and that I myself have composed more discourses on behalf of the freedom and independence of the Hellenes than all those who have worn down the public platforms." He thus found his true vocation "in expounding to the educated public in addresses and writings his views of the affairs of Hellas and Athens." There seems to be no doubt that in this he was thoroughly honest and patriotic, (with perhaps one exception), but he was not the man whom the circumstances of the times required. He was always harping upon the past, and longing for a return to the days of Solon and Cleisthenes: without going so far as to call him with Niebuhr, "a thoroughly bad citizen, as well as an ineffable fool—in his old age, at least," it cannot be denied that there was little that was fresh or original in his ideas, throughout the long period during which he was before the public: he was fond of propounding abstract political ideas, without duly considering whether they came within the range of practical politics, and how far the objects he had in view were attainable: he seems to have thought he had only to speak to get what he wanted from men like Dionysius of Syracuse. Whether his relations with Philip of Macedon were entirely above suspicion, does not seem quite clear: if they were, it can only be said that he was singularly confiding and lacking in the qualities of a man of the world. A certain vein of timidity also runs through his political principles: he deprecates any action on the part of Athens which might tend to disturb the public peace, and is even ready to advise her to renounce the idea of



the position of a great power, and to allow those of the allies who desired to do so, to withdraw from the league. His influence was thus due, partly to oral advice given to his pupils and friends, partly to his written speeches or "political pamphlets," which were primarily meant to be read, rather than composed with a view to their being actually delivered.

The object which Isocrates professedly had in view was to train young men in the art of speaking and writing on political subjects, in order to fit them to fulfil the active duties of life in a manner worthy of the citizens of the Hellenic world. He laid great stress upon the art of expression, not merely with the object of turning out first-class *orators*, who, he says, were few and far between, but as forming an essential part of general culture. By the term "philosophy," which is of frequent occurrence in his writings, is meant "the theory of culture," with special reference to the duties of practical and political life, including the study of the art of speaking: "a combination of Rhetoric and Politic, in which the latter predominates" (Sandys).

In the "Antidosis" he says that, since an *absolute knowledge* of what is going to happen is impossible, whereby we should always know how to speak and act in all circumstances, the next best thing to do is to endeavour to form an *opinion* how to act in various emergencies: and that those who are most successful in this, and occupy themselves in finding out the best way to do so, are worthy to be called philosophers, absolute knowledge of what may happen, and consequently absolute rules for guidance being, from the nature of things, out of the question.

Isocrates was in no sense of the word a "philosopher," as we understand the term: in fact, his character, as a whole, is far from being distinguished by philosophic indifference. In many passages he certainly makes use of words and expressions which seem to show his familiarity with the writings of Plato; such as the contrast between "absolute knowledge" and "mere opinion" just mentioned, and the use of the word "ideas"—in a sense, however, quite different from the Platonic. In fact he regarded the Platonic system of philosophy as "generally barren of practical results:" whenever he deals with

such themes, he merely does so in reference to their bearing on practical life.

The art of expression, however, although he attached great importance to it, he did not consider by itself enough. He who aimed at composing speeches which should be worth reading and possess permanent value, must choose lofty themes, and treat them in an adequate manner: he must strive to get and to keep a good name. A detailed account of his "philosophy," his methods of instruction and the object he set before himself, is given in the speech on the "Antidosis," which expounds the "positive" side of his teaching, as the speech against the Sophists the "negative."

The aim of Isocrates being not so much to impart any special training, as a general culture suitable for the needs of practical life, he draws a distinction between himself and the *logographi* whose only object was the composition of speeches likely to be effective in the law courts for "making the worse appear the better cause;" for these writers he entertained the greatest contempt, as neglecting the nobler side of their art. Although he does not repudiate the title of "sophist" in its best sense—one who really was what he professed to be, a wise man, or professor of wisdom which he really possessed, in contrast with one who was a mere quack, and professed wisdom which he had not—he is careful to separate himself from the sophists belonging to the "common herd," against whom the unfinished speech against the Sophists is directed. These men professed to know everything, and to be able to impart universal knowledge, virtue, and justice for a fee of three or four minae, about one-third of what Isocrates himself required, while Gorgias demanded as much as a hundred minae [about \$2,000] for a course of instruction. Equally faulty was their system of rhetoric: they took for their subjects paradoxical themes, *e.g.*, that the lot of beggars and exiles was more enviable than that of the rest of mankind, or they pronounced encomia upon most trivial subjects, such as humble bees, salt, mice, pots, and pebbles.

Isocrates, on the contrary, selected serious and dignified subjects; even in his younger days he tells us that he had avoided the mythical and heroic themes, which were in general

favour, and had directed his efforts rather to what was likely to prove of service to the Hellenic world generally, such as national unity and mutual co-operation against their hereditary foe, the Persians: "my endeavour has been," he says, "according to the best of my ability, to give good counsel to the city, the Hellenes, and the most distinguished among mankind."

The opinion expressed by him in the speech called "Nicocles" that Monarchy as a form of government is to be preferred either to an Oligarchy or a Republic, may seem inconsistent. But, leaving out of the question his intimate acquaintance with Nicocles, and the prospective benefits likely to result therefrom,—for Isocrates doubtless had an eye to the main chance as much as anybody else—it must be remembered that he is speaking rather as a professed rhetorician, as one able to argue for or against a given cause with equal facility. His advocacy of monarchy need not, therefore, be necessarily understood as the expression of what he really felt.

Although not a blind admirer of the Spartans, he in general approved of their constitution. When he seems to entertain a different opinion, it may be accounted for by the varying political relations and circumstances of the times. In the "Panegyricus" he expresses the greatest detestation of the *decarchies* or boards of Ten, which were set up in most of the Greek cities by the Spartan Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, and indignantly rebukes those who advocated the cause of the Lacedaemonians. When Agesilaus came forward and posed as the liberator of the Asiatic Greeks, Isocrates conceived the greatest admiration for him, and never afterwards lost faith in him, although his performances entirely fell short of his promises.

The dominant political idea of Isocrates was the freedom and independence of the whole Hellenic world, the Asiatic Greeks included, and the union of Greece against Persia. His efforts in this direction, as set forth in the "Panegyricus," proved barren of practical result, as might have been expected; the speech brought him fame as a masterpiece of rhetoric, but nothing more. Still dreaming of his favourite project, he

endeavoured to bring about its execution in another way. He cast about in search of some single individual of eminence who would be willing to undertake the leadership of the united forces of Greece. Jason, the despot of Pheræ in Thessaly, had spoken of crossing over to Asia and making war upon the "Great King." His career, however, was cut short by his assassination in B.C. 370. Isocrates himself addressed a letter to Archidamus the younger, son of Agesilaus of Sparta, requesting him to put himself at the head of such an expedition; but, although great hopes had been formed of him before his accession, they do not seem to have been fulfilled. In his letter to Dionysius of Syracuse, who in his later years concluded an alliance with Athens, although he does not specially mention it, he doubtless had his project in view. Dionysius, however, had his hands too full, even had he been desirous of undertaking the responsibility. The attention of Isocrates was finally directed to Philip of Macedon. When peace was patched up between Athens and Philip by the convention of Philocrates, he addressed to him the appeal which is known by the name of the "Philippus." He seems never to have wavered in the confidence he placed in Philip, until after the battle of Chaeroneia, even if he did so then.

Having thus briefly touched upon the political views of Isocrates, we may turn our attention to the closing years of his long life. In spite of his success as a teacher, and his comfortable worldly circumstances, his lot cannot be said to have been altogether a happy one. His rivals, especially the Sophists, were envious of him, and the public misjudged him. The popularity to which he considered himself entitled as the reward of his patriotic writings, fell to the lot of those popular orators whom he regarded with contempt. He was averse to courting the favour of the masses, and addressed himself rather to a select and cultivated audience. Hence he never became what is called a popular favourite. As he was naturally vain, this galled him. He found himself regarded simply as a teacher, and, even in this, his undisputed superiority was not recognised. He yearned for praise while he lived, rather than for posthumous fame. In other respects, he was a wonderful old man. He enjoyed good health until

he was ninety-four years of age, and we read that he did not complete the "Panathenaicus" until he was ninety-seven. Several of his other compositions were also the work of his later years. In his ninety-fifth year he was attacked by a dangerous disease, which, at his advanced age, must have already made him feel tired of life at the time of the battle of Chaeronea was fought. He was at Athens when the news of it reached him. It is not altogether easy to estimate the light in which he regarded it. It was only natural that he should be overcome with grief at the reverse to the allied arms, and the loss of his fellow-citizens on the battle-field. But it is doubtful, considering the persistent manner in which he had up till then believed in Philip, of whose ulterior aims he can scarcely have been ignorant, unless utterly blinded by his partisanship, whether he viewed the result of the engagement altogether with dissatisfaction. It made Philip the foremost man in the Greek world, and pointed him out as the man who had an undisputed right to take the command in an expedition against Persia. There seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the second letter to Philip, in which he apparently congratulates him on his victory.

Various traditionary accounts are given of the death of Isocrates. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he died a few days after the battle (B.C. 338), in the ninety-eighth year of his age, in accordance with his wish to end his own life together with the fortunes of the state, since it was not clear what use Philip was likely to make of his supremacy. According to Plutarch, on hearing of the defeat while in the palaestra of Hippocrates, he quoted three lines from the commencement of three plays of Euripides, referring to three barbarian intruders in Hellas, Cadmus, Danaus, and Pelops, thereby signifying that a fourth was now come in the person of Philip of Macedon; and then starved himself to death within four, or according to others, nine days, when the burial of those who had fallen in the battle took place. The allusion in Milton's sonnet is well known:

As that dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.

According to Curtius, in his history of Greece, he was disinclined to live, when he found Athens likely to stake her all on a last desperate attempt at resistance. It seems more probable that the tradition that he committed suicide is untrue. His ill-health and great age would be sufficient to account for his death occurring when it did, possibly accelerated by the general shock of the tidings of the defeat.

Isocrates was buried in the family grave, near the Cynosarges, a plot of ground sacred to Heracles, with a gymnasium, on the east of Athens. His tomb was surmounted by a lofty column, forty-five feet high, on which stood a siren, symbolical of the charm of his oratory. Close by was a tablet of stone, representing a group of poets and sophists, who had been his instructors, in the centre Gorgias, and Isocrates beside him.

The greatest success gained by Isocrates was in the province of oratory. To meet the requirements of the times, regular schools were formed for the purpose of providing instruction in this art, since, owing to the growth of litigiousness, it was necessary for every citizen to know how to defend himself. This was mainly due to the exertions of the Sophists, who adopted the florid or Sicilian style (which attained its highest perfection in Gorgias of Leontini), and regarded the art of rhetoric simply as the means of producing conviction in the minds of the hearers. At first, as an opponent of the Sophists, Isocrates was bound to profess to aim higher, and not to apply this power to any and every subject, but only to such as were worthy. But he gradually lost sight of the moral aspect of the question, and practically fell back upon their standpoint, when he devoted all his efforts towards imparting a perfectly finished style, as the highest aim of the teacher.

His chief importance consists in his style. He was the first "who perfected prose rhythm," as exhibited in well-rounded periods, perfectly balanced and regularly constructed, in which the exchange or omission of a word impairs the general effect. He avoided all that tended to disturb the even flow of language, such as hiatus (the meeting of two vowels), a principle which he systematically carried out to the fullest extent. Three figures of speech are constantly used by him,

parallelism in sense, parallelism in form between two clauses or sentences, and parallelism in sound. Of these Professor Jebb says: "The idea of all these three figures is the same—that idea of mechanical balance in which the craving for symmetry is apt to take refuge when not guided by a really flexible instinct, or a spiritual sense of fitness or measure." His diction is pure Attic; he excludes what is unusual and poetical, although he makes a judicious use of metaphors and tropes. He spent an enormous amount of time on the composition of his speeches. This, although it resulted in their being turned out in a highly elaborated and finished state of perfection, robbed them of freshness and vigour. "His work may be finished, but it is undeniably laboured: it may have melody, but is apt to become monotonous." He is said to have devoted ten years to the "Panegyricus," and three to the "Panathenaicus," which led to the remark that Alexander conquered Asia in less time than it took Isocrates to compose the "Panegyricus." There is a distinct want of originality in his writings, phrases and whole passages being borrowed from his earlier speeches, and introduced into his later writings. When we have read one of his speeches, we may be said to have read all. In the words of Professor Curtius: "Isocrates was an artist in diction, a stylist, and only in outward form an orator."

We possess all, or nearly all the writings of Isocrates that were known to later writers. The collection of Photius contains twenty-one speeches and nine letters.

In the "Panegyricus," the most famous of all the writings of Isocrates, we first meet with a clear exposition of his dominant political idea—the formation of a union of the Greeks to carry on war against Persia. It takes its name from the "Panegyreis," or great public festivals, such as the Panathenaea at Athens, or the pan-Hellenic festival at Olympia. Gorgias, Lysias, and others had already composed speeches which were delivered at Olympia (Olympiac speeches), and it is probable that Isocrates here has in mind the festival at Olympia. It is not likely that the speech was ever actually delivered, although we are told, on the authority of Philo-

tratus, that it was. The retiring disposition of Isocrates, his lack of self-confidence, and his poorness of voice, seem to go against this. It is considered possible that he may have deputed some one else to deliver it for him; and that it afterwards was put into circulation by copies being sent round to the various Greek states. According to the statement of Quintilian, Isocrates was ten years engaged in its composition. Its date is approximately fixed as the latter part of the summer of B.C. 380.

At the time when the speech was written Sparta was the ruling power in Greece, Artaxerxes II. was master of the Asiatic Greeks, and the Aegean was overrun by pirates, so that there was every need of someone to rouse the Athenians to re-assert their supremacy.

After apologizing for coming forward to speak, Isocrates proceeds to recount the services rendered by Athens to Hellas generally, and to particular states in early times, dwelling upon the rivalry of Athens and Sparta during the Persian wars. The first division of the speech concludes with a defence of the Athenians against the charge of having behaved with cruelty towards the confederate states, and a contrast between the past and present condition of the city, now that it is under the arbitrary rule of Sparta.

In the second part of the speech he recommends that Athens and Sparta should sink their differences, and agree upon united action, especially when such a favourable opportunity presents itself. The Persians, he says, are weak, and have their hands full: the misery of the Hellenes has reached its height, and, under the circumstances, even existing treaties should not prevent us from declaring war; and a united campaign against our hereditary foes will tend to enhance the reputation of the state.

Isocrates has written the following "Argument" of the speech. "The speech was written at the time when the Lacedaemonians were rulers of the Hellenes and we were in a state of humiliation. It summons the Hellenes to a campaign against the barbarians, and disputes with the Lacedaemonians the right to the headship of Hellas. Having adopted this as my theme, I, prove that the city has been the cause of all the blessings enjoyed by the Hellenes. Having clearly

marked off the subject of such benefits, and wishing to prove still more clearly that the headship belongs to Athens, I next attempt to show, in regard to these points, that it is the due of the city to receive honour much more by reason of the dangers it has faced in war than on account of all the other benefits it has conferred upon Hellas."

ISOCRATES

THE PANEGYRICUS

I HAVE often wondered that those who convene the great festivals¹ and have established athletic contests,² have deemed physical excellence worthy of such great rewards, and yet to those who have individually toiled for the public good, and have so formed their minds as to be able to benefit others as well as themselves, to these, I say, they have allotted no honour, for whom they ought to have had more consideration; for if the athletes were to acquire twice the strength they possess, no advantage would accrue to other men; but if one man were to conceive a wise thought all would reap the enjoyment of his understanding who were willing to share in it. Yet I was not so discouraged by this as to yield to indifference; but thinking that the reputation which my speech would win by its unassisted merit would be a sufficient reward, I am here to advise you concerning war against the barbarians³ and harmony among ourselves. I am not unaware, that many of those who claim to teach the public,⁴ have attempted this subject, but, in the first place, I hope to show such superiority that it may be thought that others have as yet said nothing upon these matters, and at the same time I have already come to the conclusion that the best speeches are those which deal with the greatest subjects, dis-

¹ The national festivals of the Olympian, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian games, with reference also to the special festivals of different states, such as the Dionysia at Athens and the Hecatombaea at Argos.

² The Pentathlum (jumping, running, quoit-throwing, javelin-throwing, and wrestling), and the Pancratium (boxing and wrestling combined).

³ A very common term for those who could not speak Greek, not necessarily "barbarians," as we understand the word.

⁴ For the *Sophists*, or professors of wisdom, see Introduction. The special reference here is to Gorgias.

play most clearly the ability of the speakers, and give most assistance to the audience; and of such speeches the present is one. Further, the occasion has not yet gone by, so as to render it useless now to make mention of these things. For it is only time to cease speaking when either the business in hand is over, and it is no longer necessary to take counsel about it, or when the discussion is seen to have reached its limit, so that other speakers have no means left of carrying it further. But so long as events are going on just as before, and what has been said is inadequate, how can we avoid applying thought and study to this address, which, if it be rightly carried out, will release us from our civil war, from the present confusion, and from most serious troubles? In addition to this, if it were possible to represent the same subjects in one way only, it might have been supposed a superfluous task to weary one's hearers by speaking again in the same fashion as former speakers; but since the nature of oratory renders it possible to describe the same things in many different ways—to bring great matters to a low level, and invest small things with importance; to tell old stories in modern fashion, and speak of recent events in the style of ancient history—we must no longer avoid those subjects on which others have spoken before us, but we must try to speak better than they. For the events which are past are left as a common heritage to us all, but to apply them in season, and form a right conception of each event, and to arrange them aright in words is the peculiar gift of the wise. Now I think that a very great advance would be made in every pursuit, and especially in the practical study of literary expression,¹ if admiration and honour were to be bestowed in practical affairs not so much on those who take the first step in anything, as on those who bring it in each case to the most successful conclusion, and in oratory, not so much on those who seek a subject on which no one has ever spoken before, as on those who know how to treat their subject in a manner which is beyond the powers of anyone else.

¹ See Introduction, for the meaning of the term "philosophy" in the writings of Isocrates.

And yet some find fault with discourses which are beyond the powers of common men, and are over elaborated; and they have made so great a mistake as to judge compositions which have been written with the object of surpassing others by the standard of forensic contests about private contracts, as if both ought to be of the same kind, instead of the one being framed with a view to simplicity and the other for display; or as if they themselves could discern the happy mean, while a master of elaborate diction would not be able to speak in plain or simple language. Now it is clear that these men only commend those who are like themselves; but I have nothing to do with such, but I look to those who will accept no careless statements, but will indignantly reject them, and will seek to find something in my words which they will not find in others. To such hearers I will address myself on the subject before me, having first made bold to add a few words concerning myself. Others I see striving to mollify their audience in their introductory remarks, making excuses for what they propose to say, and alleging either that they have had to make their preparations offhand, or that it is difficult to find words adequate to the greatness of their subject-matter. But for me, if I do not do justice both to my subject and to my own reputation, and to the long experience of my life,¹ as well as to the time I have spent over this address, I bid you have no mercy for me, but hold me in ridicule and contempt; for there is nothing of that sort that I do not deserve to suffer, if, while making such great promises, I show no superiority to others. Let these remarks, then, serve as an introduction with regard to my personal pretensions.

Turning to public affairs, there are men who, as soon as ever they come forward to speak, advise us that we ought to make up our mutual enmities and turn against the barbarian, and they enumerate the calamities that have befallen us owing to the civil war, and the advantages that would arise from the proposed campaign against him. Now although these men speak truly, they do not start from the best point for enabling themselves to bring this about. The Hellenes are either sub-

¹ He was in his fifty-seventh year.

ject to us or to the Lacedaemonians; for the forms of constitution by which they govern their states have divided most of them in this way.¹ Whoever, then, thinks that the others will unite in any good policy before he has reconciled those who are at their head, is a mere simpleton, and out of touch with practical affairs. But if a man does not merely aim at personal display, but wishes to effect something, he must seek for such arguments as shall persuade these two states to share and share alike, to divide the supremacy,² and to win from the barbarians those advantages which now they desire should accrue to them from the Hellenes. Now our commonwealth would be easily induced to take this course, but the Lacedaemonians are for the present still hard to persuade, for they have inherited an erroneous notion that it is their ancestral prerogative to be leaders; but if it be shown to them that this honour belongs to us rather than to them, they will soon waive their punctilious claims in this matter, and follow their interests.

Now other speakers ought to have started from this basis, and not to have given advice about matters of common agreement before instructing us on disputed points; but I especially am bound, for two reasons, to give most of my attention to this matter: first, if possible, that some useful result may be attained, and that we may cease from our mutual rivalry and unite in a war against the barbarians; and, secondly, if that is impossible, that I may point out who are those that stand in the way of the happiness of Hellas, and that it may be made clear to all that, as previously the old maritime empire of Athens was based on a just title, so now she has a good right to dispute the leadership. For, on the one hand, if the men who deserve honour in each sphere of action are those who have the most experience and the greatest power, it is beyond dispute that we have a right to recover the leadership which we formerly used to possess; for no one can point to any other state that is so pre-eminent in war by land as ours excels in maritime enterprises. And, on the other hand, if any think that this is not a fair criterion,

¹ Into democracies under Athens, or oligarchies under Sparta.

² Athens receiving the supremacy on sea, Sparta on land.

but that fortune is too changeable for such a conclusion (since power never continues in the same hands), and claim that leadership, like any other prize, should be held either by those who first won this honour, or by those who have conferred the most benefits upon Hellas, I think that these too are on our side; for the further back one examines both these qualifications, the more we shall leave behind those who dispute our claim. For it is allowed that our commonwealth is the most ancient and the largest and most renowned in all the world; and, good as is this foundation of our claim, for what follows we have still greater right to be honoured. For we did not win the country we dwell in by expelling others from it,¹ or by seizing it when uninhabited, nor are we a mixed race collected together from many nations, but so noble and genuine is our descent, that we have continued for all time in possession of the land from which we sprang, being children of our native soil, and able to address our city by the same titles that we give to our nearest relations; for we alone among the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother. Yet our origin is but such as should be possessed by a people who indulge in a reasonable pride, who have a just claim to the leadership of Hellas, and who bring to frequent remembrance their ancestral glories.

This will show the magnitude of the gifts with which fortune originally endowed us; the great benefits we have conferred upon others we shall best examine by a detailed narrative of the early history and achievements of our city; for we shall find that she has not only led the way in warlike enterprises, but is also the founder of nearly all the established institutions among which we dwell, and under which we carry on our public life, and by means of which we are enabled to live. Now of useful services we must of necessity prefer, not such as on account of their insignificance escape notice and are passed over in silence, but such as on account of their importance are spoken of and kept in memory by all men, both in former times and at the present day and in every place.

¹ Like the Spartans at the time of the Dorian immigration into Peloponnesus.

In the first place, then, the first need of our nature was supplied by the agency of our state; for even though the story is a mythical one, yet it is fit to be told even at the present day. When Demeter came into the country in her wandering, after the rape of Persephone,¹ and was kindly disposed to our forefathers on account of the services they rendered her, which can be told to none but the initiated, she bestowed two gifts which surpass all others: the fruits of the earth, which have saved us from the life of wild beasts, and the mystic rite,² the partakers in which have brighter hopes concerning the end of life and the eternity beyond,—under these circumstances Athens showed such love for men, as well as for the gods, that, when she became mistress of these great blessings, she did not grudge them to the rest of the world, but shared her advantages with all. Now as to the festival, we to this day celebrate it every year;² and as to the fruits of the earth, Athens has once for all taught the uses to which they can be put, the operations which they require, and the benefits which arise from them. Indeed no one will venture to disbelieve this statement, after I have made a few additional remarks. For in the first place, the very considerations which would lead a man to despise the

¹ Persephone (Prosperine), the daughter of Demeter (Ceres), while gathering flowers in the vale of Henna in Sicily, was carried off by Dis (Pluto) to the lower world. Her distracted mother, wandering over the whole world in search of her, amongst other places came to Eleusis in Attica, where she was hospitably received by Celeus, king of the country. She remained there for a year, and cursed the earth with barrenness, until a bargain was made with Jupiter, by which Prosperine was to spend six months of the year with her mother. Ceres then removed the curse of barrenness: and, to show her gratitude for her hospitable reception, she established her religious worship in the country, Celeus himself, together with Triptolemus, Diocles, and Eumolpus, being constituted its interpreters. The Hierophant, or high priest of her mysteries, was always chosen from the Eumolpidae. Triptolemus is also said to have been taught by Ceres the art of sowing and ploughing, which he communicated to the world.

² The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated every year in the month of Boëdromion (April), and lasted twelve days.

story on account of its antiquity, would give him probable reason to suppose that the events had actually happened; for that many have told the story of these events, and all have heard it, should make us regard it, though not recent, yet as worthy of belief. In the second place, we can not only take refuge in the fact that we have received the tradition and rumour from a distant period, but we can also produce greater proofs than this of these things. For most of the cities of Hellas, as a memorial of our old services, send to us each year first-fruits of their corn,¹ and those that omit to do so have often been commanded by the Pythia to pay the due proportion of their produce and perform their ancestral duties to our state. Yet can anything have stronger claims on our belief than that which is the subject of divine ordinance and of widesperad approval in Hellas, where ancient story bears common witness to present deeds, and modern events agree with the legends of men of old? Besides this, if we leave all this out of consideration and take a survey from the beginning, we shall find that those who first appeared upon the earth did not at once find life in its present condition, but little by little procured for themselves its advantages. Whom then should we think most likely either to receive it as a gift from the gods or to win it by their own efforts? Surely those who are admitted to have been the first to exist, and are at once most highly gifted for the pursuits of life and most piously disposed towards the gods. Now what high honour ought to accrue to those who have produced such great blessings, it were a superfluous task to point out; for no one could find a reward commensurate with what has been achieved.

So much then concerning the greatest of our good works, first accomplished and most universal in its effects. But, in the same period, Athens, seeing the barbarians occupying the

¹ The story is that, during a general famine in Hellas, the Athenians were ordered by the Delphic oracle to offer a sacrifice, called *Proërosia*, since it was offered at the time of seed-sowing, to Demeter on behalf of the rest of the Hellenes. Thereupon the famine ceased. Out of gratitude the first-fruits of all Hellas were afterwards sent to Athens.

greater part of the country,¹ and the Hellenes confined in a small space and driven by scarcity of land into intestine conspiracies and civil wars, and perishing, either from want of daily necessities or in war, was not content to leave things so, but sent forth leaders into the states who took those most in need of subsistence, made themselves their generals and conquered the barbarians in war, founded many states on both continents,² colonized all the islands,³ and saved both those who followed them and those who stayed behind; for to the latter they left the home country sufficient for their needs, and the former they provided with more territory than they already possessed; for they acquired all the surrounding districts of which we are now in occupation. In this way too they afforded great facilities to those who in later times⁴ wished to send out colonists and to imitate our state; for it was not necessary for them to run risk in acquiring new territory, but they could go and live on land which we had marked out. Now who can show a leadership more ancestral than one which arose before most Hellenic cities were founded, or more beneficial than one which drove the barbarians from their homes, and led on the Hellenes to such prosperity?

Yet, after aiding in the accomplishment of the most pressing duties, Athens did not neglect the rest, but deemed it the first step only in a career of beneficence to find food for those in want, a step which is incumbent upon a people who aim at good government generally, and thinking that life which was limited to mere subsistence was not enough to make men desire to live, she devoted such close attention to the other

¹ *i.e.*, the country possessed by the Hellenes in the time of Isocrates. In mythical times Greece was limited to Peloponnesus and Attica, the rest of the country being in the possession of barbarian races, such as the Thracians, Carians, and Caucasians.

² *i.e.*, Europe and Asia, Africa not being reckoned separately, but regarded as divided between the other two continents; Herodotus, however, reckons three divisions of the world. In Europe the reference is perhaps to the colonies founded by Miletus on the Euxine Sea.

³ Referring to the colonization of the Cyclades at the time of the Ionic migration.

⁴ Referring to the Dorian migration,

interests of man, that of all the benefits which men enjoy, not derived from the gods but which we owe to our fellow-men, none have arisen without the aid of Athens, and most of them have been brought about by her agency. For finding the Hellenes living in lawlessness and dwelling in a scattered fashion,¹ oppressed by tyrannies or being destroyed by anarchy, she also released them from these evils, either by becoming mistress of them or by making herself an example; for she was the first to lay down laws and establish a constitution. This is clear from the fact that, when men in the earliest times introduced indictments for homicide,² and determined to settle their mutual disputes by argument and not by violence, they followed our laws in the mode of trial which they adopted.

Nay more, the arts also, whether useful for the necessities of life or contrived for pleasure, were by her either invented or put to proof and offered to the rest of the world for their use. In other respects, moreover, she ordered her administration in such a spirit of welcome to strangers³ and of friendliness to all, as to suit both those who were in want of money⁴ and those who desired to enjoy the wealth they possessed, and not to fail in serving either the prosperous, or those who were unfortunate in their own states,⁵ but so that each of these classes finds with us a delightful sojourn or a safe refuge. And further, since the territory possessed by the several states was not in every case self-sufficing, but was

¹ Cecrops, the first ruler of Attica, is said to have divided the country into twelve separate districts, each governed by a separate king, which were united by Theseus into a single state. Thales proposed that the Ionians of Asia Minor should in like manner unite.

² The court of Areopagus, which was established by Solon, had, among other duties, the supervision of religion, laws, morals and discipline, being empowered to call even private persons to account for offensive behavior.

³ In contrast with the Spartan "alien acts," which discouraged the presence of foreigners.

⁴ Alluding to the resident aliens, who settled in Athens for purposes of trade.

⁵ Especially those who had been driven from home owing to their democratic proclivities.

defective in some products and bore more than was sufficient of others, and much embarrassment arose where to dispose of the latter, and from whence to import the former, she provided a remedy for these troubles also; for she established the Piraeus¹ as a market in the centre of Hellas, of such superlative excellence that articles, which it is difficult for the several states to supply to each other one by one, can all be easily procured from Athens.

Now those who established the great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom which leads us to make treaties with one another, to reconcile the enmities that exist among us,² and to assemble in one place; besides that, in making common prayers and sacrifices³ we are reminded of the original bond of kinship between us, and are more kindly disposed towards each other for the future, we renew old friendships and make new ones, and neither for ordinary men⁴ nor for those of distinguished qualities is the time idly spent, but by the concourse of Hellenes opportunity arises for the latter to display their natural excellences, and for the former to be spectators of their mutual contests, and neither spend their time dissatisfied, but each has whereof to be proud, the spectators when they see the competitors toiling on their behalf, and the competitors when they think that everyone has come to look at them. Great then as are the benefits we derive from the assemblies, in these respects, too, our state is not left behind. For indeed she can show many most beautiful spectacles,⁵ some passing all bounds in expenditure,⁶ others

¹ The Piraeus was the great port of Athens, and, according to Thucydides, the mart of the whole world.

² During these festivals a suspension of hostilities was ordered throughout the whole of Hellas, to enable all who were desirous of attending them to do so without hindrance or danger.

³ The sacrifices were offered on the first day of the festival by special ambassadors deputed by the several states.

⁴ *i.e.*, the spectators, non-competitors.

⁵ Public buildings, such as the Parthenon and the other "lions" of Athens, with reference also to the "sights" of the games and processions at the Panathenaea and Greater Dionysia.

⁶ Demosthenes says that larger sums were spent upon the Panathenaea

of high artistic repute,¹ and some excelling in both these respects; then, the multitude of strangers who visit us is so great, that if there is any advantage in mutual intercourse, that also has been compassed by her. In addition to this, you can find with us the truest friendships and the most varied acquaintanceships; and, moreover, see contests not merely of speed and strength, but also of oratory and mind, and in all other productions of art, and for these the greatest prizes,² For in addition to those which the state herself offers, she also helps to persuade others to bestow the like; for those recognised by us receive such credit as to be universally approved. Apart from this, whereas the other festivals³ are assembled at long intervals and soon dispersed, our state, on the contrary, is for those who visit her one long festival without ceasing.

Practical philosophy, moreover, which helped to discover and establish all these institutions, which at once educated us for action and softened our mutual intercourse, which distinguished calamities due to ignorance from those which spring from necessity, and taught us to avoid the former and nobly to endure the latter, was introduced by Athens; she also paid honour to eloquence, which all men desire, and begrudge to those who are skilled in it: for she was aware that this is the only distinguishing characteristic which we of all creatures possess, and that by this we have won our position of superiority to all the rest of them; she saw that in other spheres of action men's fortunes are so capricious that often in them the wise fail and the foolish succeed, and that the proper and skilful use of language is beyond the reach of men of poor

and Dionysia than upon any armament, and that they were better attended and more magnificent than almost anything else in the world.

¹ At the Panathenaea, besides the usual games, there were musical contests in the Odeum, recitations of epic poetry, and public disputations by rhetoricians, of which the "Panathenaicus" of Isocrates is a specimen.

² Crowns of olive-branches and earthen vessels, filled with oil from the sacred olive trees, which were highly prized.

³ The Olympian and Pythian games were celebrated every four, the Isthmian and Nemean every three years, the Panathenaea annually.

capacity,¹ but in the function of a soul of sound wisdom, and that those who are considered clever or stupid differ from each other mainly in this respect; she saw, besides, that men who have received a liberal education from the very first are not to be known by courage, or wealth, or such-like advantages, but are most clearly recognised by their speech, and that this is the surest token which is manifested of the education of each one of us, and that those who make good use of language are not only influential in their own states, but also held in honour among other people. So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world, and she has made the name of Hellas distinctive no longer of race but of intellect, and the title of Hellene a badge of education rather than of common descent.

But that I may not seem to be lingering over details of my subject when I proposed to treat of the whole, nor to be eulogizing Athens on these grounds from inability to praise her for her achievements in war, I will say no more to those who take pride in what I have mentioned; but I think that our forefathers deserve to be honoured as much for the dangers they incurred as for the rest of their services. Neither small nor few nor obscure were the struggles they endured, but many and terrible and great, some for their own country, others for the general liberty; for during the whole time they did not cease to open their state to all, and were the champions of those among the Hellenes who from time to time were the victims of oppression. For that very reason some accuse us of a foolish policy, in that we have been accustomed to support the weaker, as if such arguments did not rather justify our admirers. For it was not in ignorance of the superiority of great alliances in regard to security that we took these counsels concerning them, but, while knowing much more accurately than other men the results of such a course, we nevertheless preferred to help the weak even against our interest rather than for profit's sake to join in the oppressions of the strong.

¹ Or, "ordinary poor men" who had not enough money to pay the fees for instruction in the art of oratory.

Now the character and the strength of Athens may be seen from the supplications which have been addressed to us in times past. I will pass over those of recent occurrence¹ or small importance;² but long before the Trojan war (for it is fair to borrow proofs from that time in a dispute about ancestral claims) there came the sons of Heracles, and a little before them Adrastus, the son of Talaus, King of Argos,³ the latter came from his expedition against Thebes, in which he had been defeated, being unable without aid to recover the bodies of those who had been slain under the Cadmea,⁴ and calling on our state to render assistance in a misfortune that may happen to all, and not to suffer those who had died in war to go unburied, nor an old custom and ancestral usage to be broken; the sons of Heracles⁵ came fleeing from the enmity of Eurystheus, and, passing over all other states as not likely to be able to help them in their calamities, they thought our state alone adequate to make recompense for the benefits which their father had conferred upon all mankind. From these circumstances, then, it is easy to see that even at that time our state possessed a kind of supremacy; for who would care to sue for help either to the weaker, or

¹ Such as the request of the Corcyreans for assistance against Corinth, which eventually led to the Peloponnesian war.

² Such as the mission of Gorgias to Athens, at a time when the inhabitants of Leontini were oppressed by Syracuse.

³ The Thebans, after their victory over the seven princes who had attacked them under the leadership of Adrastus, refused to give back the bodies of their fallen enemies for burial: Adrastus then appealed for assistance to Theseus, who procured their restoration by force of arms, or, according to another account given by Isocrates himself, by diplomatic representations.

⁴ The town called Cadmea, founded by Cadmus, afterwards became the citadel of Thebes.

⁵ After the death of Heracles, his bitter enemy Eurystheus endeavoured to slay his three sons. They fled from Argos, and, after many wanderings, reached Attica, where they found shelter with Demophon. Eurystheus afterwards attacked the Athenians, but was defeated and taken prisoner, or, according to another account, slain by Hyllus, one of the sons of Heracles.

to those subject to others, passing by those possessed of greater power, especially on affairs not of private but of public interest, the care of which would naturally fall upon those who claimed to stand at the head of Hellas? Further, they are shown not to have been disappointed of the hopes which caused them to take refuge with our forefathers. For they took up arms, first on behalf of those who had fallen in battle against the Thebans, and secondly on behalf of the sons of Heracles against the power of Eurystheus, and by an attack on the former forced them to give up the dead to their kindred for burial, and, when the Peloponnesian followers of Eurystheus invaded our territory, they went out against them and conquered them in battle, and made him to cease from his insolence. Now these deeds added a fresh glory to the reputation they had already won by their previous achievements. For they did not act half-heartedly, but so revolutionized the fortunes of each of these monarchs, that the one who thought fit to supplicate us went away, having in the teeth of his foes achieved all that he wanted, while Eurystheus, expecting to prevail by force, was taken captive and himself compelled to become a suppliant; and, although on one who transcended human nature, who though begotten of Zeus was still mortal, but had the strength of a god, he had spent all his life in casting commands and insults, yet, when he offended against us, he met with such a reverse of fortune that he came into the power of his own sons and ended his days in contumely.¹

Now many as are the services we have rendered to Lacedaemon,² there is only one of which it has fallen to me to speak; seizing as an opportunity the deliverance which was won for them by us, the ancestors of those who now reign in Lacedae-

¹ Alcmena, the mother of Heracles, is said to have dug out his eyes.

² During the Second Messenian War (B.C. 685-668), the Spartans, by command of the Delphic Oracle, applied to Athens for a leader. She sent them Tyrtaeus, a lame man and a schoolmaster, who so inspired them by his martial songs, that they renewed the war, and in the end completely subjugated the Messenians. On another occasion, when the Spartans were besieging the ancient Messenian stronghold of Methone (B.C. 464), Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians to send himself with a large force to assist in the siege.

mon,¹ and descendants of Heracles, went down into Peloponnesus, occupied Argos and Lacedaemon and Messene, became the founders of Sparta, and were the originators of all their present greatness. These things they should have remembered and never have invaded this country,² from which their forefathers set out and won such prosperity, nor have brought into danger the state which bore the brunt of battle in the cause of the sons of Heracles, nor, while bestowing the crown upon his posterity, should they have thought fit to enslave the state³ which brought deliverance to his race. Now if we must leave out of consideration gratitude and courtesy and, returning to the original question, consider the matter strictly, it is surely not an ancestral custom that aliens should rule over the children of the soil, the recipients of kindness over their benefactors, suppliants over those who gave them welcome.

But I have yet a shorter way of proving my contention. Of the Hellenic states, with the exception of ours, Argos, Thebes, and Lacedaemon were the greatest in former times and still continue to be so. Now so great was the manifest superiority of our ancestors over all others, that on behalf of the defeated Argives they dictated terms to Thebes in the height of her pride, and on behalf of the sons of Heracles they conquered in battle the Argives and the rest of the Peloponnesians, and rescued the founders of Sparta and the leaders of the Lacedaemonians from the dangers of their contest against Eurystheus. So that I do not know what clearer demonstration could be made of their sovereign power in Hellas.

Now I ought, I think, to speak also of the achievements of Athens against the barbarians, especially as the leadership of Hellas against them was the original subject of my speech. Now if I were to enumerate all the perils we went through I should be telling too long a tale; but in dealing with the greatest of them I will try to adopt the same method of narration

¹ The descendants of Eurystheus and Proclus.

² As they frequently did during the Peloponnesian war.

³ Referring to the rule of the Thirty Tyrants set up at Athens, with the co-operation of the Spartan Lysander, after the final defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami (B.C. 405).

that I followed just now. For the races best fitted for rule and the possessors of the widest imperial power are the Scythians, the Thracians, and the Persians, and it happens that all these have had hostile designs against us, and that our state has fought decisively against all of them. Now what argument will be left for my opponents, if I can prove that, if any of the Hellenes were unable to get justice, it was to Athens that they directed their petitions, and that, when barbarians wished to enslave Hellas, Athens was the first object of their attacks?

Now although the Persian war is the most famous that has taken place, yet ancient events are equally good evidence in a dispute about ancestral claims. For, when Hellas was still of low estate, there came into our country Thracians¹ under Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, and Scythians under the Amazons,² the daughters of Ares, not at the same time, but at the times when their rule extended as far as Europe; hating as they did the whole race of the Hellenes, they directed their complaints against us in particular, thinking that in this way they would encounter one state only and yet at the same time become masters of all. They did not, however, succeed, but in conflict with our ancestors alone they were destroyed as utterly as if they had made war against all mankind. Now the magnitude of the disasters which befell them is perfectly clear; for the traditions on this subject would never have lasted for so long, had not the actual events been unparalleled. It is said of the Amazons that, of those who came, not one went back again, and that those who were left behind were driven from power on account of the disaster which had happened

¹ These Thracians of the mythical period are said to have been an entirely different race from the later historical Thracians. According to the legend, Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, invaded Attica with a band of Thracians to assert his claim to the country as the property of his father Poseidon, but was defeated and slain together with his two sons.

² The Amazons were a warlike tribe of women, dwelling at Thermo-don, on the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea). In consequence of their queen Hippolyte having been carried off by Theseus they invaded Attica, but were defeated.

here, and of the Thracians that, whereas in previous times they had been living as our immediate neighbours,¹ owing to the campaign which then took place they fell back so far, that in the intervening territory many nations and various races and great cities were established.

Now honourable indeed are these deeds, and befitting those who dispute for the leadership; but akin to those which I have mentioned, and such as were to be expected from the descendants of men so great, were the achievements of those who made war against Darius and Xerxes. For although that was the greatest war ever set on foot, and never had so many perilous struggles taken place at one and the same time—against enemies who fancied themselves irresistible on account of their numbers, and allies who considered their valour unsurpassable—our ancestors conquered both, in the way that was suitable in each case, and proving superior in the face of every danger, earned as an immediate reward the meed of valour,² and not long afterwards obtained the dominion of the sea, at the gift of the rest of the Hellenes, and without dispute from those who now seek to rob us of it.³

Now let no one think me ignorant that the Lacedaemonians, too, in those critical times deserved credit for many good services to Hellas; but on this account I have even more reason to praise our state, in that, in conflict with such great competitors, she proved so far superior to them. But I wish to speak a little more at length about these two states, and not to skim over the subject too quickly, that it may be to us a memorial, both of the valour of our ancestors and of the hatred of the barbarians. And yet I am not unaware that it is difficult for one who comes latest to the task to speak of a subject long ago occupied by previous speakers, and on which those citizens

¹ In Eleusis.

² After the battles of Artemisium and Salamis (both in B.C. 480). After the latter engagement the palm of individual merit was almost unanimously awarded to the Aeginetans.

³ At the time of the formation of the Confederacy of Delos (B.C. 477), when the allies, disgusted at the insolence of the Spartan Pausanias, begged Aristides to assume the command of the combined fleet.

best able to speak have often spoken on the occasion of public funerals; for it follows that the chief part must have been already used up, and only a few unimportant points omitted. Nevertheless, starting from what still remains to be said, since it is convenient for my purpose, I must not shrink from making mention concerning them.

Now I think that the greatest services have been rendered and the greatest praises deserved by those who exposed their persons in the forefront of danger for the sake of Hellas; yet it is not fair either to forget those who lived before this war and held power in these two states respectively. For they it was who trained beforehand those coming after them, inclined the multitude to virtue, and created formidable antagonists for the barbarians. For they did not despise the public interests, nor enjoy the resources of the state as their own, while neglecting her interests as no concern of theirs; but they were as solicitous for the common welfare as for their own domestic happiness, and at the same time properly stood aloof from matters which did not affect them. They did not estimate happiness by the standard of money, but they thought that the surest and best wealth was possessed by the man who pursued such conduct as would enable him to gain the best reputation for himself and leave behind the greatest fame for his children. They did not emulate one another's shameless audacity, nor cultivate effrontery in their own persons, but deemed it more terrible to be ill-spoken of by their fellow-citizens than to die nobly for the state, and were more ashamed of public errors than they are now of their own personal faults. The reason of this was that they took care that their laws should be exact and good, those concerned with the relations of every-day life even more than those that had to do with private contracts. For they knew that good men and true will have no need of many written documents, but, whether on private or public matters, will easily come to an agreement by the aid of a few recognised principles. Such was their public spirit, that the object of their political parties was to dispute, not which should destroy the other and rule over the rest, but which should be first in doing some service to the state; and they organized their clubs, not for their private in-

terests, but for the benefit of the people. They pursued the same method in their dealings with other states, treating the Hellenes with deference and not with insolence, considering that their rule over them should be that of a general, not of a despot, and desiring to be addressed as leaders rather than masters, and to be entitled saviours and not reviled as destroyers; they won over states by kindness instead of overthrowing them by force; they made their word more trustworthy than their oath is now, and thought it their duty to abide by treaties as by the decrees of necessity; not proud of their power so much as ambitious to live in self-restraint, they thought it right to have the same feelings towards their inferiors as they expected their superiors to have towards them, and they considered their own cities as merely private towns, while they looked upon Hellas as their common fatherland. Possessed of such ideas, and educating the younger generation in such manners, they brought to light such valiant men in those who fought against the barbarians from Asia, that no one, either poet or sophist,¹ has ever yet been able to speak in a manner worthy of their achievements. And I can readily excuse them; for it is just as hard to praise those who have surpassed the virtues of other men as those who have never done anything good; for whereas the latter have no deeds to support them, the former have no language befitting them. For what language could be commensurate with the deeds of men who were so far superior to those who made the expedition against Troy, that, while they spent ten years against one city, those men in a short time defeated the whole might of Asia, and not only saved their own countries but also liberated the whole of Hellas? And what deeds or toils or dangers would they have shrunk from attempting in order to win living reputations, when they were so readily willing to lose their lives for the sake of a posthumous fame? And I even think that the war must have been contrived by one of the gods in admiration of their valour, that men of such quality should not remain in obscurity nor end their lives ingloriously, but should be thought worthy of the same rewards as those

¹ Rhetoricians, such as Gorgias.

children of the gods who are called demi-gods; for even *their* bodies the gods rendered up to the inflexible laws of nature, but made immortal the memory of their valour.

Now, continuous as was the jealousy between our ancestors and the Lacedaemonians, yet in those times they exercised their rivalry for the highest objects, considering themselves to be not enemies but competitors, and not courting the barbarian with a view to the servitude of Hellas, but having one aim in the common safety, their only rivalry being which of them should achieve it. Now the first proof they gave of their high qualities was on the occasion of the expedition sent by Darius: for when the enemy landed in Attica our ancestors on their part did not wait for their allies;¹ but, treating the public peril as if it were their own, they went with their own forces alone² to meet a foe who had despised the whole of Hellas, prepared with their small numbers to encounter many myriads, as if other men's lives and not their own were at stake; and the Lacedaemonians no sooner heard of the war in Attica than, neglecting everything else, they came to help us, making as much haste as if their own country were being laid waste. A proof of their rapidity and emulation is that our ancestors are said on one and the same day³ to have heard of the landing of the barbarians, marched out to protect the borders of their territory, fought a victorious engagement and set up a trophy over their enemies, while the Lacedaemonians in three days and as many nights traversed twelve hundred stadia⁴ in marching order. So strenuously did they hasten, the one to share in the dangers, and the others to fight before reinforcements should arrive.⁵ The next occasion was that

¹ The real reason why the Athenians did not wait for the Spartans was that there was no time to do so. The Spartans, from religious scruples, did not start until it was full moon, and when they arrived it was too late, as the battle (Marathon) was over.

² As a matter of fact they were also aided by the Plataeans.

³ An exaggeration; according to Herodotus the Greeks were encamped for several days opposite the Persians.

⁴ About one hundred and fifty miles.

⁵ Miltiades really pushed on because he was afraid of disaffection amongst the soldiers.

of the subsequent expedition, which Xerxes led in person,¹ leaving his royal residence and making bold to become a general, and collecting all Asia together; in the description of whose fall the highest flights of eloquence have fallen short of the reality. He reached such a pitch of arrogance that, deeming it a small task to subdue Hellas, and wishing to leave such a memorial behind him as human nature cannot attain to, he did not cease till he had devised and forced to completion the feat which is in everyone's mouth, of sailing with his army across the mainland and marching on foot through the sea, by bridging the Hellespont, and cutting a canal through Athos.

It was one, then, of such lofty pride and such great achievements, master of so many men, that they went to encounter, dividing the risk between them,—the Lacedaemonians to Thermopylae² against his land forces, choosing a thousand of their number and taking a few of their allies with them, intending in the narrow pass to bar their further advance, and our ancestors to Artemisium,³ having manned sixty triremes against the whole fleet of the enemy. And they took heart to do these things, not so much from contempt of their enemies as in rivalry with each other, the Lacedaemonians envying our state the battle of Marathon and seeking to do the like, and fearing lest twice in succession Athens should bring deliverance to the Hellenes, while our people on their part wished above all to

¹ Darius on the contrary, only dispatched his generals to conduct the campaign.

² The famous pass of Thermopylae, in Eastern Locris, ran between Mount Oeta and the sea. The hot springs—from which it derives its name—and a tumulus, believed to be that of the Spartans who fell with Leonidas, may still be seen. It is thus described by Herodotus: "at Thermopylae a steep and inaccessible mountain rises on the west side in the direction of Oeta: on the east side are the sea and marshes. There are warm springs in the pass, and an altar of Heracles stands near them. Going from Trachis to Hellas the road is but half a plethrum [fifty feet] wide, yet the narrowest part is not there, but just in front, and in the rear of Thermopylae, where there is only room for one vehicle.

³ A long beach in northern Euboea, so close to Thermopylae that what happened at one place could be seen from the other.

preserve their existing fame, and to make it clear to all that their former victory too was due to valour and not to luck, and in the next place also to encourage the Hellenes to undertake a sea-fight, by proving to them that in naval ventures just as in those by land it is the prowess of the common people that prevails. But though they displayed equal daring, their fortunes were not alike; the Lacedaemonians were destroyed—their spirits were victorious—their bodies only fainted and failed (for indeed it would be a sin to say that they were defeated; for no one of them deigned to flee); our ancestors on their part defeated the advanced squadron, but when they heard that the enemy were masters of the pass, they sailed back home, arranged affairs in the city, and directed the remainder of their efforts so well, that, many and glorious as were their previous achievements, they excelled yet more in the closing scene of their perils. For all the allies were in despondency, and the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus¹ and seeking only their own safety, while the other states had become subject to the barbarians and were serving in their ranks, except such as were neglected on account of their insignificance; one thousand two hundred triremes were sailing against them, and an innumerable land force was on the point of invading Attica; yet, although they could see no gleam of deliverance, but were bereft of allies and disappointed of all their hopes,—though they might have not merely escaped the dangers besetting them, but have received special distinctions,² which the Great King offered them in the belief that, if he added the fleet of our state to his forces, he would immediately conquer Peloponnesus as well,—they would hear nothing of his gifts, nor did they in anger against the Hellenes for their betrayal gladly hasten to make terms with the barbarians, but for their own part they made ready to fight for freedom, and forgave the others for preferring slavery. For they considered that, though the humble states were right in seeking safety by every means, those which claimed to be at

¹ Of Corinth.

² The headship of Greece and valuable presents. The offer was really made by Mardonius after the battle of Salamis, before the battle of Plataea in the following year (B.C. 479).

the head of Hellas could not possibly try to escape their peril, but that, just as for men of truth and honour it is more preferable to die honourably than to live in disgrace, so too for states of high position it is more profitable to disappear from among men than to be seen in a state of slavery.

Now it can be shown that such were their thoughts; for as they were not able to marshal their forces against both the hostile armaments at the same time, they took with them all the multitude from the city and sailed out to the neighbouring island, that they might encounter each force in turn.¹ Now how could men be shown better or more loyal to Hellas than they, who, to avoid bringing slavery on the rest, endured to look calmly upon their city made desolate, their land being laid waste, their sanctuaries plundered and their temples burnt, and the whole war centred upon their own country? And indeed, even this did not satisfy them, but they were ready to maintain a sea-fight single-handed against one thousand two hundred triremes. Yet they were not permitted to do so; for the Peloponnesians, put to shame by their valour, and thinking that, if our men were destroyed first, they themselves would not escape either, whereas, if they succeeded, they would bring dishonour upon their own states, were compelled to share the peril. Now as to the din which arose in the engagement, the cries, and the shouts of encouragement, which are common to all sea-fights, I do not know that I need spend time in describing them; but what is peculiar to this engagement, and worthy of the leadership of Hellas, and in harmony with what has been said before, this it is my duty to tell of. So far was our state superior when its power was unimpaired, that after being laid waste it contributed, in the first place, for the battle on behalf of Hellas, more triremes than all the rest who joined in the fight, and, in the second place, no one is so hostile to us that he would not allow that it was by reason of the sea-fight that we conquered in the war, and that this fight was brought about by Athens. Now when an expedition against the barbarians is being proposed, who ought to have the leadership? Surely they who in the

¹ *i.e.*, first by sea and then by land.

former war won the greatest fame, having often borne the brunt on their own shoulders, and in united contests having gained the prize of valour? Surely they who abandoned their own country for the general deliverance, and who not only in olden times founded most of the Hellenic states, but also in later days rescued them from the greatest disasters? Should we not be most hardly treated, if, after having endured the largest share of troubles, we should be thought worthy of a lesser share of honours, and, after having in those days occupied the foremost post, should now be compelled to follow the lead of others?

Now up to this point I know that all will allow that our state had rendered more services than any other, and would be fairly entitled to the leadership; but after this, some begin to accuse us on the ground that, when we succeeded to the empire of the sea, we became a source of much mischief to Hellas, and in this connection they reproach us with the enslavement of the Melians¹ and the destruction of the Scionaeans.² Now I think, in the first place, that it is no indication

¹ "In B.C. 416 the Athenians attacked and conquered Melos, which island and Thera were the only islands in the Aegean not subject to the Athenian supremacy. The Melians having rejected all the Athenian overtures for a voluntary submission, their capital was blockaded by sea and land, and after a few months surrendered. On the proposal, as it appears, of Alcibiades all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the island colonized afresh by five hundred Athenians. This horrible proceeding was the more indefensible as the Athenians, having attacked the Melians in full peace, could not pretend that they were justified by the custom of war in slaying the prisoners. It was the crowning act of insolence and cruelty displayed during their empire, which from this period began rapidly to decline." (Smith, "Smaller Hist. Greece.")

² Scione, on the peninsula of Pallene (the most western of the three peninsulas or tongues of Chalcidice, the other two being Sithonia and Acte) revolted from Athens, through the influence of Brasidas, in B.C. 423: two years later it was captured by the Athenians, after having endured a blockade, its male inhabitants were put to death, the men and women made slaves, and the lands of the exterminated people granted to the Plataeans.

that we ruled badly, that some of those who made war against us are shown to have been severely chastised, but it is a much stronger proof of the excellence of our government of our allies, that of the states which were subject to us not one met with such disasters. In the second place, if any others had dealt with similar affairs in a more lenient spirit, they might have good reason to censure us; but since this is not the case, and at the same time it is impossible to govern states so many in number without chastising those who commit offences, do we not even deserve praise for that we were able to hold our empire longest with least harshness? I think all are of opinion that those will prove to be the best rulers of Hellas, under whom their subjects are found to fare best. Under our leadership, then, more than any other, we shall find that both private households increased in prosperity and that cities became great. For we did not envy the growing cities nor cause disorder within them by planting side by side opposing forms of constitution, that the inhabitants might fall into factions and each party court our favour, but, considering the harmony of our allies to be a common benefit, we governed all the states on the same principles; our policy regarding them was that of allies and not of masters, exercising a general superintendence, and yet allowing them to be individually free; we helped the people, and made war against arbitrary power,¹ thinking it monstrous that the many should be subject to the few, and that those who are poorer in substance than others, but in other respects no whit inferior, should be driven from office, and more, that, in a country common to all, some should be despots and others mere settlers,² and that those who are citizens by nature should by law be deprived of all share in the administration.

Having such grounds of complaint against oligarchies, and more than these, we set up in the other states the same constitution as our own, which I see no need for commending at length, especially as I can give an account of it in a few

¹ *i.e.*, oligarchies.

² The term "settlers" or "resident aliens" is here used to express the condition of the governed class under an oligarchy.

words. For under it they continued living for seventy years unacquainted with tyrannies, free as regarded the barbarians, undisturbed by faction amongst themselves, and at peace with all men. For these reasons wise men ought far rather to be grateful to us than cast in our teeth the settlements which we used to send out to thinly populated cities to secure protection to their territories, and not for the sake of aggrandizement. And there is proof of this; our territory was the smallest in proportion to the number of our citizens,¹ and our empire the greatest, and we possessed triremes not only twice as numerous as all the rest together, but fit to encounter twice their number; further, although close within reach of Attica there lay Euboea, which was by nature well adapted for the mastery of the sea, and in other respects possessed superior merits to all the other islands;² although we could command it more easily than our own country, and, in addition to that, knew that both among Hellenes and among barbarians the highest reputation was possessed by those who, by driving their neighbours from their homes, secured for themselves a life of plenty and ease, nevertheless none of these considerations induced us to commit any wrong against the inhabitants of the island, but we alone, I say, among those who attained to great power, suffered ourselves to live in less abundance than those who were taunted with being our slaves. Moreover, if we had wished for aggrandizement, we should not surely have coveted the territory of Scione, which it is known we handed over to the Plataeans³ who took refuge with us, and yet have passed over a country sufficient to have enriched us all.

Such then having been our character, and such the as-

¹ The total population of Attica was reckoned at 500,000, its area at about 700 square miles.

² It possessed excellent landing-places, and was famous for its iron and copper mines, its pasture and corn lands, and marble quarries near Carystus.

³ In B.C. 427, when Plataea was destroyed by the Peloponnesians for having supported Athens. Before its capture, two hundred and twelve of the inhabitants had managed to make good their escape to Athens, who afterwards settled them in Scione.

surance that we have given of not coveting the property of others, those men dare to accuse us who took part in the decarchies,¹ dragged their own countries through the mire, and made the wrongs done in former times seem small, while they left to future followers of wickedness no chance of surpassing them; while professing Laconian sympathies, they practised the reverse of their professions, and while lamenting the sad fate of the Melians, they did not hesitate to do irremediable injuries to their own countrymen. For what form of oppression escaped them? or what deed of shame or cruelty did they not perpetrate? They deemed the most lawless to be most faithful, they courted traitors as benefactors, and chose to be slaves to one of the Helots,² so as to outrage their own country; they honoured the assassins and murderers of their fellow-citizens more than their own parents, and brought us all to such a pitch of savagery, that whereas in former times, on account of the prevailing happiness, each of us found many to sympathize with us even in small misfortunes, under their rule, owing to the multitude of our own peculiar ills, we left off pitying each other; for they left no one sufficient leisure to share another's sorrow. Whom did these tyrants not reach? Or who was so remote from public life that he was not compelled to come into close contact with the calamities into which such creatures plunged us? Then, they are not ashamed of their lawless treatment of their own states or of

¹ *i.e.*, the supporters of Sparta and oligarchy in Athens and elsewhere. After the fall of Athens Lysander established an oligarchical council of Ten, called a *Decarchy*, under the control of a Spartan *harmost* or governor, in the various cities which had belonged to the Athenian Empire. The decarchies did not long remain in power, since they were regarded with jealousy by the Spartan government as partisans of Lysander.

² The reference is to Lysander, the Spartan commander, who was one of the children of the Helots. These Helots were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled for the Spartan proprietors; they were never sold, and fought as light-armed troops. What rendered their lot especially bitter was the fact that they were not strangers like the ordinary slaves in other parts of Greece, but were of the same race as their masters, being descendants of the old inhabitants. In later times they were treated with great cruelty.

their unjust accusations against ours, but in addition to their other offences they even venture to speak of the lawsuits and indictments which at times have occurred amongst us, when they themselves put to death more men untried in three months¹ than our state brought to trial during the whole time of its supremacy. The banishments and seditions, the confounding of laws and political revolutions, nay more, the outrages upon children, the insults to women, the confiscations—who could recount them? Only I can say this much on the whole matter, that the acts of wrong committed in our time might easily have been abolished by a single decree of the assembly, but the massacres and the lawlessness which took place under them cannot be repaired by anyone. Indeed, even the present peace,² and the independence which is inscribed in treaties, but is not to be found in the states, are not preferable to our empire. For who would desire a condition of things in which pirates hold the sea³ and targeteers⁴ occupy the cities, and, instead of making war against strangers in defence of their country, the citizens fight with each other inside the walls; more cities have been taken in war than before we concluded the peace, and on account of the frequency of revolutions the inhabitants of the cities live in greater despondency than those who have been punished with exile; for the former dread the future, while the latter are continually expecting to return home.

¹ With special reference to the worst period of the eight months' rule of the Thirty Tyrants, during which 1,500 citizens were put to death.

² The peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), the terms of which were as follows: King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; but that all the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and that these should, as of old, belong to the Athenians.

³ After the naval power of Athens was broken, there was no one to keep the sea clear of pirates.

⁴ The "peltasts" strictly occupied a position between hoplites (or heavy-armed troops) and the light-armed. They were distinguished by the light, round buckler (*peltē*). They were chiefly foreign mercenaries.

So far removed are the states from liberty and independence, that some are under despots,¹ some are governed by harmosts, some have been dismantled, and of others the barbarians have become masters; those barbarians whom, when they dared to cross into Europe and conceived prouder thoughts than became them, we treated in such fashion, that they not only ceased making expeditions against us, but even had to endure the devastation of their own country,² and though they sailed round with a thousand and two hundred ships we reduced them to such a depth of humiliation that they did not launch a vessel of war on this side of Phaselis,³ but kept quiet and awaited their opportunity, and had no confidence in their strength at the time. And that this was owing to the prowess of our ancestors, the calamities of the state have clearly shown; for from the time that we were deprived of our empire, the troubles of Hellas began. For after the defeat in the Hellespont,⁴ when others acquired the leadership, the barbarians were victorious in naval battles,⁵ and ruled the sea, occupied most of the islands, landed on Laconian territory,⁶ took Cythera by storm, and sailed round the whole of Peloponnesus inflicting damage. The magnitude of the change can be best seen at a glance by reading over side by side the

¹ Such as Dionysius of Syracuse and Jason of Pherae in Thessaly.

² Referring to the victory of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, over the Persians at the Eurymedon (B.C. 469).

³ After the Persian Wars, the boundaries beyond which the Persian ships of war were not allowed to pass were, on the north the Cyanean Islands on the Thracian Bosphorus, on the south the Chelidonian Islands near Phaselis on the frontiers of Lycia and Pamphylia.

⁴ The defeat at Aegospotami (B.C. 405).

⁵ Referring to the victory of Conon over the Spartan fleet at Cnidus in Caria (B.C. 394). Conon, after his defeat at Aegospotami, had fled to Cyprus, where he lived under the protection of Evagoras; nine years later he was intrusted with the command of the Persian fleet by Pharnabazus.

⁶ In the year 393 Conon and Pharnabazus devastated Pherae in Messenia, and other parts of the coast of Laconia. They also conquered the island of Cythera (Cerigo), to the south of Peloponnesus, and sailed from thence to the Isthmus of Corinth.

treaties entered into under our empire³ and those which now stand recorded. In those days we shall be found marking the limits of the King's rule, assessing some of their tributes, and forbidding him to make use of the sea; whereas now it is he who manages the affairs of Hellas, dictates what each must do, and all but sets up governors in the cities. For with this exception what else is left undone? Was he not master of the war, did he not direct peace negotiations, and has he not been established our chief-president at the present time?² Are we not drifting into his hands as into those of a master, ready to blame each other for the result? Do we not address him as "The Great King," as if we were prisoners of war? Do we not in our wars against each other place in him our hopes of a safe issue, when he would gladly destroy us both?³

Bearing all this in mind, it is but right to be indignant at the existing condition of things, and to mourn the loss of our leadership, and to censure the Lacedaemonians in that, although in the beginning they undertook the war⁴ as if with

¹ "By the treaty of Callias (or Cimon, as it is sometimes called), according to which the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor were made independent, the Persian King was precluded from approaching the coast within the distance of a day's journey on horseback, and from sending any ship of war between the Cyanean islands at the mouth of the Bosphorus and the Chelidonian islands off the Lycian coast. Whether this peace was made after the battle of the Eury-medon or after Cimon's expedition to Cyprus has been a matter of controversy, and some historians have doubted whether such a peace was ever made."—C. R. K.

² The Athenian *Boulē* (or council of five hundred) was divided into ten bodies of fifty men, who were called *prytaneis*, and all belonged to the same tribe. They acted as presidents both of the council and popular assembly, during thirty-five or thirty-six days as the case might be, in order to complete the Athenian lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days; each tribe exercised their functions in turn, and the period of office was called a *Prytany*. One of the fifty *Prytaneis* was chosen by lot to act as chairman for one day, during which he kept the public records and seal. Their terms are here applied generally to express the great influence and power of the Persian king.

³ Sparta as well as Athens.

⁴ *i.e.*, the Peloponnesian war.

the purpose of liberating the Hellenes, at the close they have visited so many of them with betrayal, and have caused the Ionians to revolt from our state, from which they emigrated and by whose influence they were often saved from danger, and have given them over to the barbarians, against whose will they possess their territory, and with whom they have never ceased fighting. In former days the Lacedaemonians were indignant when we desired to rule over some people in a lawful manner; now, on the contrary, they take no heed of these states, when reduced to such slavery, that it is not enough for them to be subject to tribute and to see their citadels occupied by their enemies, but in addition to the public calamities they suffer in their own persons harsher treatment than our bought slaves;¹ for no one of us illtreats his servants in such fashion as they chastise free men. But the greatest of their miseries is the being compelled to carry arms in the very cause of slavery, and to fight against those who claim to be free, when the perils they undergo are of such a nature that if defeated they will be immediately destroyed, and if successful will be more deeply enslaved for all future time. Whom should we consider responsible for these things but the Lacedaemonians, who, great as is their strength, suffer their own allies to be brought to such a depth of misery, and the barbarian to establish his own sway by the aid of the might of the Hellenes? Again, though in former times they used to expel tyrants,² and give support to the people, they have now changed so completely that they go to war with constitutional governments and help to establish monarchies. Mantinea, for instance, after peace was concluded, they laid in ruins, they seized the Cadmea of Thebes, and are now besieging the Olynthians³ and the Phliasians, and they are

¹ "Bought slaves," in opposition to "house slaves" who were born and brought up in the house, and were often on confidential terms with their masters.

² Such as the Pisistratidae from Athens and the Cypselidae from Corinth.

³ The Lacedaemonians in B.C. 382 declared war against Olynthus; the Thebans entered into an alliance with the latter, and forbade

assisting Amyntas,¹ the king of the Macedonians, and Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily,² and the barbarian³ who is master of Asia, to extend their power as widely as possible. Yet is it not strange that the leaders of Hellas should establish one man as master of human beings so numerous that it is not even easy to ascertain their number, and yet should not allow the greatest states to have control even of themselves, but should compel them to suffer slavery or to incur the greatest calamities? But the most monstrous thing of all is to see those who claim to have the leadership fighting every day against the Hellenes, and united in alliance for all time with the barbarians.

Now let no one suppose that I am ill-tempered because I have called attention to these matters in rather severe language, after having said at starting that my speech would be directed to reconciliation; for it is not in order to denounce the Lacedaemonians to others that I have thus spoken of them, but that I may cause them, as far as my words can effect this, to give up their present manner of thinking. But it is not possible to turn them from their faults or to persuade them to desire a different course of action, without vigorously censuring their present conduct; and we ought to consider that it is those who abuse maliciously that accuse, while those who say the same that good may come merely admonish. For the same language should be differently understood according to the purpose with which it is spoken. Now we have this too to censure them for, that though in the case of their own state they compel the neighbouring inhabitants⁴ to be Helots to it, yet for the general body of their allies they establish no such institution, though it is within their power, by making up

any of their citizens to join the Lacedaemonian army in its operations. The town was not reduced till three years later.

¹ Amyntas II., father of Philip of Macedon. In B.C. 383 Olynthus had united the Greek towns of Chalcidice in an alliance against him, whereupon he sent envoys to Sparta to ask for assistance.

² Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse, who was assisted by the Spartan Aristus to consolidate his power at home (B.C. 404).

³ Artaxerxes Mnemon.

⁴ The Messenians.

their quarrel with us, to make all the barbarians dependents of united Hellas. Yet those who have high thoughts by nature and not by reason of good fortune ought to attempt deeds of that kind, far rather than to impose tribute upon the islanders;¹ whom it is right for us to pity, when we see them for their part being compelled on account of scarcity of land to cultivate mountains, while the dwellers on the mainland² owing to abundance of territory leave most of it idle and have acquired their great wealth from the portion of which they reap the fruits. Now I think that if men were to come from some other region and be spectators of the present state of things, they would find both of us guilty of great madness, for thus incurring risk about trifles, when it is within our power to enjoy great possessions in security, and for ruining our own territory while neglecting to reap the fruits of Asia. To the King of course nothing is more important than the consideration of means to prevent us ever ceasing from making war against each other; but we are so far from embroiling any of his affairs or causing revolts, that even the troubles which by chance have come upon him we endeavour to help him to suppress, since even of the two armies in Cyprus³ we allow him to employ the one and to besiege the other, both of them composed of Hellenes. For not only do those who have revolted both stand on friendly terms with us and surrender themselves to the Lacedaemonians, but of those serving with Tiribazus and of the land forces the most serviceable portion has been levied from these parts,⁴ and of the fleet the greater part has sailed together from Ionia; these would much sooner have been uniting to sack Asia than encountering each other for the sake of trifles. On these things we bestow no thought, but we dispute about the Cyclades islands, while we have so lightly handed over to the barbarian cities

¹ The inhabitants of the Cyclades (in the Aegean), and Leucas, Cythera, and Zacynthus, the soil of which was bare and rocky.

² The subjects of the Persian king in Asia.

³ Evagoras, prince of Cyprus, revolted against Artaxerxes, who sent Tiribazus against him; Evagoras applied to Athens for assistance, which was granted: a similar request to Sparta was refused.

⁴ From Greece and the Greek settlements of Ionia.

so many in number and forces so considerable. For this reason it is that he is in possession in one quarter, threatens to become so in another, and is forming hostile schemes in a third, having conceived a just contempt for us all. For he has achieved what none of his ancestors have yet done; Asia, it has been admitted both on our part and on that of the Lacedaemonians, belongs to the King, and the Hellenic states he has brought so completely into his power, as to raze some of them to the ground and build fortresses in others. And all these things are due to our folly, not to his power.

Yet some admire the greatness of the King's power, and say that he is hard to war with, enumerating the many revolutions which he has brought upon the Hellenes. But I think those who speak thus are promoting instead of discouraging the campaign; for if, when we are agreed and he is beset with disorder, he is likely to be difficult to make war against, surely we should dread exceedingly the hour when the affairs of the barbarians are settled and they are of one mind, while we are at war with each other as we are now. Yet supposing that they agree with what I say, even then they do not form a right opinion of his power. For if they had shown him to have in former times got the better of both states at once, they might reasonably have tried to frighten us now also; but if this has not been so, but, on the contrary, it was when we and the Lacedaemonians were at variance, that by supporting one side or the other he made that side more brilliantly successful. that is no indication of his strength. For in such crises small forces often exercise great influence in turning the scale; for of the Chians¹ too I might make this remark, that whichever party they determined to support was stronger by sea. However, it is not fair to judge of the King's power from what came about with the help of one or other of us, but from the wars he has fought by himself on his own account. And in the first place, when Egypt revolted, what did he achieve against those who held it? Did not he on his part send down

¹ The revolt of the wealthy and populous island of Chios from Athens during the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 412), gave Sparta the superiority at sea, just as, later, after Conon's victory at Cnidus, its revolt from Sparta deprived her of that superiority.

to that war the most distinguished of the Persians, Abrocomas and Tithraustes and Pharnabazus,¹ and did not they, after staying three years and suffering more evils than they inflicted, in the end depart with such dishonour, that those who had revolted are no longer content with freedom, but are beginning to seek to extend their rule over their neighbours? After that followed his operations against Evagoras, who rules but one city,² and in the treaties³ is given up to the enemy, and, living as he does in an island, has been in former times defeated by sea,⁴ and to defend his territory has only three thousand targeteers; nevertheless, even so humble a power the King cannot overcome in war, but he has already spent six years, and if we must judge of the future by the past, there is much more reason to expect the revolt of another, before he is forced to surrender; such is the natural slowness displayed by the King in his undertakings.

Again, in the Rhodian war,⁵ with the allies of the Lacedaemonians friendly to him on account of the harshness of their governments, with the advantage of the services we rendered, and with Conon as his general, who was the most careful of generals, the most faithful to Hellas, and the most experienced in the dangers of war,—even with such a man to fight beside him, he for three years suffered the fleet, which had the main task of defending Asia, to be blockaded by one hundred triremes only, and deprived his soldiers of fifteen

¹ The Satraps of Syria, Ionia, and the district of the Hellespont.

² Salamis in Cyprus.

³ The peace of Antalcidas.

⁴ In the naval engagement at Citium (B.C. 386).

⁵ The oppressions of the harmosts and decarchies caused an uprising against Sparta, and a league was formed between Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, which was afterwards joined by Athens. Conon had meanwhile been intrusted by the King of Persia with unlimited power to equip a fleet against Sparta, and, assisted materially by Evagoras, gained the important victory of Cnidus (B.C. 394), which restored the influence of Athens and enabled her to rebuild the long walls. The war was sometimes called the "War with Rhodes," because the principal naval operations took place in the neighbourhood of that island.

months' pay, so that, as far as it depended on him, they would have been destroyed many times over, but by reason of the impending danger and of the alliance contracted with Corinth, they now and again with difficulty won naval victories. Now these are the most kingly and glorious of his achievements, whereof those who wish to magnify the power of the barbarians never cease to speak. So that no one can say that I do not use my examples fairly, nor that I linger over small matters, passing by his greatest actions; for, in the wish to avoid this imputation, I have gone through the most famous of his deeds, not failing either to remember the following facts,—that Dercylidas¹ with a thousand hoplites extended his rule over Aeolis,² that Draco, having occupied Atarneus³ and collected three thousand peltasts, desolated the plain of Mysia, that Thi(m)bron, taking across a slightly larger force, laid waste the whole of Lydia,⁴ and that Agesilaus by the help of Cyrus's army⁵ almost became master of the territory on this side of the Halys. Nay more, one need not fear even the army which follows the King, nor the courage of the Persians; for they too were manifestly proved by those who went up with Cyrus⁶ to be no better than the dwellers by the sea.⁷ I pass over all the other battles in which they were

¹ Tissaphernes had attacked the Ionian cities, at the time under the protection of Sparta. A considerable Lacedaemonian force under Thi(m)bron was sent to their assistance. Thi(m)bron, however, proved so inefficient that he was superseded by Dercylidas (B.C. 399).

² Aeolis formed part of the satrapy of Pharnabazus; it included the upper valleys of Mt. Ida, and was so called from the Aeolian towns which peopled it.

³ Atarneus in Mysia, opposite Lesbos, a strong fortress held by a body of exiles from Chios, was taken, after an eight months' siege, by Dercylidas, who put a garrison into the place under the command of Draco, an Achaean of Pallene.

⁴ Some years later (about B.C. 390) Thi(m)bron was again sent out to Asia, where he ravaged the king's territory; but, owing to his carelessness, was slain by the satrap Struthas.

⁵ The remainder of the Greeks who had taken part in the expedition of Cyrus.

⁶ The 10,000 Greeks; see Xenophon's "Anabasis" in volume five.

⁷ The troops from the Persian satrapies in Asia Minor.

defeated, and I assume that they were divided by factions and were not heartily willing to fight to the death against the king's brother. But, when after the death of Cyrus,¹ all the inhabitants of Asia united, even under those favourable circumstances they fought so disgracefully, as to leave not a word for those to say who have been accustomed to praise Persian courage. For when they fell in with six thousand Hellenes, not chosen according to merit, but such as owing to their needy circumstances were not able to live in their own states, who were ignorant of the country, destitute of allies, betrayed by those who had gone up with them,² and bereft of the leader in whose footsteps they had followed, they were so far from being a match for them, that the King, embarrassed by the condition of affairs and having a small opinion of the force around him, went so far as to seize the commanders of the auxiliaries when under the protection of a truce,³ thinking that, if he effected this outrage, he would throw their army into confusion, and preferred to offend against the gods rather than to meet them in open contest. And when he failed in his plot, and the soldiers stood by each other and bore their calamity nobly, he sent with them on their return Tissaphernes and his cavalry, in spite of whose hostile designs throughout the whole of their journey, our countrymen reached their destination as safely as if they had been escorted by them, having most fear of the uninhabited part of the country and considering it the greatest advantage to meet as many of the enemy as possible. Let me sum up what I have said: although they had not set out for plunder nor taken so much as a village, but had taken the field against the King himself, yet they came down in greater security than those who go on embassies to him to court his friendship. So that the Persians seem to me in every part of the world to have clearly manifested their cowardice; not only on the coast-line of Asia have they suffered many defeats, but when they crossed into Europe they paid the penalty (for some of

¹ He was slain at the battle of Cunaxa (B.C. 401).

² The Persian troops under Ariaeus (Xenophon, "Anabasis"). The "leader" is Cyrus.

³ See Xenophon, "Anabasis."

them perished miserably, and others escaped with dishonour), and they have finished by becoming objects of ridicule in sight of the King's palace itself.¹

Now not one of these things has happened unaccountably, but they have all come to pass naturally; for it is not possible that men whose rearing and political constitution is of such a nature should set up a trophy over their enemies in battle any more than they can partake of virtue generally. For how, with their habits of life, could either a skilful general or a good soldier arise amongst them, seeing that the greater part of them are a disorderly mob without experience of danger, enervated for war, but for servitude better trained than our household slaves? Those, again, who are in greatest repute among them have never yet lived a life of equality, common intercourse, or citizenship, but spend all their time either as oppressors or as slaves—the surest way for men to have their characters corrupted; their bodies they pamper through their riches, and their souls they render abased and fearful through their monarchical government; they are subjected to inspection on the very threshold of the royal palace, fall prostrate before the King, and in every way practise humiliation, worshipping a mortal man and addressing him as a deity, and holding the gods of less account than men.

For this reason it is that those of them who come down to the sea, whom they call satraps, do not disgrace their home education, but continue in the same habits, faithless towards their friends and cowardly towards their enemies, and living lives of humiliation on the one side and arrogance on the other, they despise their allies while they court their enemies. The armament of Agesilaus, for instance, they fed for eight months at their own expense,² and yet deprived of their pay for twice that length of time those who were fighting their battle; they distributed one hundred talents to those who

¹ Cunaxa was 500 stades (about sixty miles) from Babylon, according to Plutarch; according to Xenophon, 360 stades (about 300 miles).

² After the execution of Tissaphernes, his successor Tithraustes reopened negotiations with Agesilaus: an armistice of six months was concluded, and Agesilaus, by a subsidy of thirty talents, was induced to remove into the territory of Pharnabazus.

captured Cisthene,¹ and yet those who joined them in their expedition against Cyprus they treated with worse indignities than their prisoners. To speak briefly and not in detail but generally, did anyone who fought against them ever come off without success, or did anyone who was subject to them ever end his life without suffering maltreatment? There was Conon who held command in the cause of Asia and overthrew the Lacedaemonian empire—had they not the hardihood to seize him for execution,² whereas they deemed Themistocles, who defeated them at sea in the cause of Hellas, worthy of the richest presents?³ How then can we esteem the friendship of these men, who punish their benefactors, and so openly flatter those who do them injury? To which of us have they not done wrong? For how long have they ceased from plotting against the Hellenes? What is there in our land that is not hateful to them, who did not scruple in the earlier war to plunder and set on fire the very images and temples of the gods? For this reason the Ionians too

¹ In Aeolis, on the sea-coast of Mysia.

² After the success of Conon at Cnidus and the rebuilding of the Long Walls of Athens, "the Spartan government viewed with alarm his further operations, when he was proceeding to restore the Athenian dominion on the coasts and in the islands of the Aegean. It perceived that it was necessary to change its policy with regard to Persia, and for the present at least to drop the design of conquest in Asia, and to confine itself to the object of counteracting the efforts of the Athenians and making the Persian court subservient to these ends. For this purpose Antalcidas was sent to negotiate a peace with Tiribazus, to whom he made highly agreeable proposals. The latter did not venture openly to enter into alliance without his master's consent, but made no scruple about privately supplying Antalcidas with funds for a navy; and, having drawn Conon to Sardis, threw him into prison, on the pretext that he had abused his trust, and had employed the king's forces for the aggrandizement of Athens" (Thirlwall). Conon afterwards escaped to Cyprus, where he died of illness.

³ In B.C. 471. Themistocles was ostracized for corrupt practices, and fled to the court of Persia, where he was treated with the greatest consideration by Artaxerxes, who loaded him with presents, and gave him Magnesia as a place of residence.

deserve commendation for invoking curses by their burnt sanctuaries on any who should disturb them or wish to restore them again to their ancient condition, not from any lack of the means to rebuild them, but that they might be to posterity for a memorial of the impiety of the barbarians, and that no one should trust those who ventured to commit such wrongs against heaven, but that men should, on the contrary, beware of them and fear them. seeing that they made war not only against our persons but also against that which is consecrated to the gods.

Now I have a similar tale to tell of our fellow-countrymen too. For they also, although, as regards all others, with whom they have been at war, they are no sooner reconciled to them than they forget their past enmity, yet to the continental peoples they feel no gratitude even when they receive favours from them; in such unceasing remembrance do they keep their anger against them. Our fathers, again, condemned many to death for the crime of Medism,¹ and in their public assemblies even at the present day, before transacting any other business, they invoke curses on any citizen who proposes to send an embassy to negotiate peace with the Persians; and the Eumolpidae and the Ceryces,² in the celebration of the mysteries, on account of their hatred of the Persians warn all other barbarians, as if they were murderers, to keep away from the sacred rites. Our feelings are naturally so hostile to them, that the very stories that we are most pleased to linger over are those of the Trojan and Persian wars, by which we can learn of their misfortunes. And you will find that, while the war against barbarians has afforded us hymns of praise, war against the Hellenes has

¹ In May or June, B.C. 479, about ten months after the retreat of Xerxes, the Persians again occupied Athens, the inhabitants of which had withdrawn to Salamis, seeing that no aid was to be expected from the Peloponnesians. Mardonius again endeavoured to win them to his alliance. His conditions were again refused. The senator Lycidas alone recommended their acceptance, in consequence of which he and his family were stoned to death by the populace.

² The two priestly families of the Eumolpidae and Ceryces superintended the Eleusinian mysteries.

been a source of lamentations, and that the former are sung at our feasts, while the latter we remember in our misfortunes. I think indeed that even the poetry of Homer has acquired a greater reputation for the noble way in which he praised those who fought against the barbarians, and that it was on this account that our ancestors gave to his genius a place of honour both in musical contests and in the education of the young,¹ that by often hearing his epics we may fully understand the enmity which exists between us and them, and that, in emulation of the virtue of those who fought against Troy, we may strive after deeds such as theirs.

It seems to me, therefore, that the motives for going to war with them are exceedingly many, and chief of all the present opportunity, which must not be thrown away; for indeed it is a disgrace to remember an opportunity when it is past instead of using it while it is present. For what further advantage could we even wish to accrue to us in prospect of a war with the King, beyond those which we now possess? Have not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him, Phoenicia and Syria been reduced to desolation by reason of the war, and Tyre, on which he greatly prided himself, been seized by his enemies?² And of the cities in Cilicia, the majority are held by our supporters,³ and the rest it is not difficult to win; and Lycia⁴ no Persian has ever yet completely subdued. Hecatomnus, the satrap of Caria, has in reality been now for a long time disaffected, and will declare himself whenever we wish it. From Cnidus to Sinope Hellenes live along the coast of Asia, whom there is no need to persuade to go to war, but merely to refrain from hindering them. Now with such bases of operations to our hand, and with Asia beset by so formidable a war, why need we scan too minutely the future issue?

¹ The recital of Homer's poems formed part of the literary exercises at the Panathenaic festival, and they were a subject for repetition at schools.

² On the occasion of the Cyprian war.

³ Evagoras and the Cyprians.

⁴ Although forced by Harpagus to submit and to pay tribute in the shape of ships to Persia, the mountainous nature of the country insured to Lycia a certain independence.

For when they are unequal to small portions of our power it is clear how they would be situated if they were compelled to make war against the whole. The matter stands thus: if the barbarians should hold more strongly the cities on the sea-coast, placing in them larger garrisons than at present, possibly the islands also which are near the mainland, such as Rhodes, Samos, and Chios, would turn aside to follow his fortunes; but if we were to seize these cities first, it is probable that the inhabitants of Lydia and Phrygia and the upper country generally would be in the power of a force operating from those points.¹ Therefore we must hasten and make no delay, that we may not suffer the same fate as our fathers. For they, by being later in the field than the barbarians and abandoning some of their allies² were compelled to fight with inferior numbers against a large force, whereas it was open to them by crossing in time on to the mainland to have overcome each nation one after the other with the whole power of Hellas. For experience teaches us that, when making war against men who are being collected from many places, we ought not to wait until they are upon us, but to attack them while still dispersed. Our fathers, it is true, though committing all these errors at the first, retrieved them after passing through the severest struggles in our history; but we, if we are wise, will be on our guard from the beginning, and try to be the first to establish a force in the country of Lydia and Ionia, knowing that the King too rules the continental peoples, not by a willing allegiance, but by having at command a greater force than they severally possess; now when we take across a stronger force than his, which we could easily do if we so determined, we shall enjoy the fruits of all Asia in security. And it is a much nobler thing to fight with him for his kingdom than to wrangle among ourselves for the leadership of Hellas.

¹ *i.e.*, from the Ionian cities on the coast.

² The Ionians, who, after the burning of Sardis, were defeated near Ephesus, and in vain sought further assistance from Athens. The result was the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Persia, the fate of the war being decided by the naval engagement at Lade, a small island off Miletus (B.C. 495).

Now it is right to undertake the campaign in the present generation, that those who have had their share of troubles may also enjoy success and not spend all their life in evil days. Sufficient is the past, in which every form of calamity has taken place. Many as are the evils attached to the natural condition of men, we ourselves have invented more evils in addition to those which necessity imposes, creating wars and factions in our midst, so that some are lawlessly put to death in their own states, while others wander with wives and children in a foreign land, and many, forced into mercenary service by the want of daily necessities, die fighting for foes against friends. At this no one has ever yet shown indignation, yet they see fit to weep over the tales of calamity composed by poets, while, beholding with indifference the real woes, many and terrible, which are caused by war, they are so far from feeling pity that they even rejoice more at one another's troubles than at their own good fortune. Many perhaps would even ridicule my simplicity, were I to mourn over the misfortunes of individuals in times like these, in which Italy has become a wasted land, Sicily has been enslaved,¹ and so many states have been given up to the barbarians,² while the remaining portions of Hellas are in the midst of the greatest dangers.

I wonder that those who are in power in our states consider that it befits them to hold their heads high, when they have never yet been able by word or thought to help in matters of such importance. For, were they worthy of their present reputation, they ought, neglecting everything else, to have made proposals and taken counsel concerning the war against the barbarians. For by chance they might together have accomplished something; and even had they abandoned the attempt from weariness, yet they would at least have left their words behind them as oracles for the future. But as it is, those who are in the highest positions of honour con-

¹ Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, in B.C. 389, had captured Caulon and Hipponium and transferred the inhabitants to Syracuse, and two years later destroyed Rhegium; he had also surrendered several Sicilian towns to the Carthaginians.

² By the peace of Antalcidas.

cern themselves with small matters, and have left it to us who stand aloof from public life to give advice on such weighty affairs.

Nevertheless the more narrow-minded our leaders prove to be, the more vigorously must the rest of us consider how to be rid of our present enmity. As things are, it is to no purpose that we make our treaties of peace; for we do not settle our wars, but only defer them, and wait for the time when we shall be able to inflict some irremediable injury on one another. Our duty, on the contrary, is to put aside these plottings and apply ourselves to those undertakings which will enable us both to dwell in greater security in our cities and to feel greater confidence in one another. Now the word to be said on this subject is a simple and easy one; we cannot enjoy a sure peace unless we make war in common against the barbarians, nor can Hellas be made of one mind until we secure our advantages from the same enemies and meet our perils in the face of the same foes.¹ When these things are achieved, when we have removed the poverty surrounding our life, which breaks up friendships, perverts to enmity the ties of kindred, and throws all mankind into wars and seditions, it must follow that we shall be of one mind and our mutual goodwill will be real. For these reasons we must consider it all-important as speedily as possible to banish our domestic war to the continent, since the one advantage we can derive from our internal struggles would be the resolve to use against the barbarian the lessons of experience we have gained from them.

But, it will be said, may it not be best on account of the treaty² to wait a little and not to press on and make the expedition too quickly? It is the states which have been liberated through this treaty that feel gratitude to the King, on the ground that they have obtained this independence

¹ *i.e.*, the Persians. The sense is: We ought to give up the attempt to enrich ourselves at the expense of our Greek neighbours, and ought rather to endeavour to spoil the Persians; similarly, we ought to abandon our perpetual wars against one another, and to wage war against the Persians alone.

² The peace of Antalcidas.

through him, while those which have been given up to the barbarians reproach mainly the Lacedaemonians, and in a lesser degree all the others who were parties to the peace, on the ground that by them they have been forced into slavery. Must it not therefore be right to dissolve this agreement, from which such a feeling has arisen that it is the barbarian who cares for Hellas and is the guardian of her peace, and that among us are to be found those who outrage and ill-use her? But the most ridiculous thing of all is, that of the terms written in the agreements it is the worst that we find ourselves guarding. For those which restore to independence the islands and the states in Europe, have long been broken and remain idly on the records;¹ but those which bring us shame and have given up many of our allies, remain in force and all hold them binding. These we must destroy and not leave them for a single day, considering them to be dictates, not agreements. For who does not know that those are agreements which stand equally and fairly to both sides, but that those are dictates which unjustly put one side at a disadvantage? For this reason, too, we could justly complain of those who negotiated this peace, that, although sent by Hellas, they made the treaty in the interest of the barbarians. For whether it was determined that we should each keep our own country, or should also extend our rule over the territory conquered in war, or should retain what we were already in possession of at the time of the peace, their duty was to define some one of these courses, lay down a common principle of justice, and on that basis conclude the treaty. But in fact they allotted no distinction to our state or to Lacedaemon, but established the barbarian as lord of all Asia, as if we had gone to war on his behalf, or as if the Persian empire were of old standing and we but recent inhabitants of our cities, and it were not rather the fact that they have but lately held this high position, while we have for all time been the ruling powers in Hellas. I think, however, that I shall better show the want of respect that has befallen us and the preference which has

¹ Lit. "pillars," on which important public documents such as treaties were transcribed.

been shown to the King by putting the matter in this way. Whereas the whole earth lying beneath the firmament is divided into two portions, the one called Asia and the other Europe, he has taken by the treaty one half, as if he were dividing the world with Zeus instead of making an agreement with men. And this is the agreement which he has compelled us to inscribe on pillars of stone and to dedicate in our common temples.¹ a far fairer trophy than any to be won in battles; for the trophies of battle are on account of small events and isolated successes, but this agreement is established to commemorate the whole war and concerns the whole of Hellas.

For these things it is but right that we should feel indignation and consider how we shall take vengeance for the past and set the future on a right footing. For it is a disgrace that, while in private life we think it fitting to use the barbarians as domestic servants, we should in public affairs suffer so many of our allies to be in slavery to them, and that, whereas those who lived in the time of the Trojan war did for the rape of one woman all join so heartily in the indignation of those who had suffered the wrong, that they did not cease to carry on the war until they had laid in ruins the city of the man who had dared to commit the offence, we on the contrary wreak no public vengeance for outrages which are being inflicted upon the whole of Hellas, though it is in our power to achieve things worthy of aspiration. For it is only a war of this kind which is better than peace, a war more like a sacred embassy than a campaign, and to the interest of both parties, both those who prefer to live in quiet and those who desire to go to war; for it would enable the former to reap in security the fruits of their own possessions, and the latter to acquire great riches out of the possessions of others.

Now in many directions it will be found on consideration that this course of action is most to our profit. For consider: against whom should war be made by those who desire no selfish aggression, but look to justice alone? Surely against those who formerly did injury to Hellas, are now

¹ The pillars were placed inside or near the public temples.

scheming against us, and always entertain hostile feelings towards us. Against whom may envy be fairly cherished by men who are not altogether given over to an unmanly jealousy, but indulge this feeling with discretion? Surely against those who have encompassed themselves with power too great for men to hold, and yet are deserving of less than those who are unfortunate in our country. Against whom should a campaign be conducted by those who wish to act as pious men and at the same time desire their own advantage? Surely against those who are both our natural and our ancestral enemies, who possess the highest prosperity with the smallest power of striking a blow in its defence. Now the Persians are open to all these reproaches. Moreover, we shall not even trouble the states by levying soldiers from them, which is now a most severe burden to them in our civil war; for I think that far fewer will wish to stay behind than will desire to follow in our train. For who, be he young or old, has a heart so unmoved that he will not wish to take his part in this expedition, an expedition generalled by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, mustering on behalf of the freedom of the allies, going forth at the bidding of all Hellas, and marching to the chastisement of the barbarians? What fame, and name, and glory must we deem that these men, who have been foremost in so great an enterprise, will enjoy while living, or dying, will leave behind them? For whereas they who fought against Alexander¹ and took one city were deemed worthy of such praises, what eulogies must we expect will be won by the conquerors of all Asia? For surely everyone who has the gift of poetry or the power of speech will toil and study in the wish to leave behind him for all time a memorial at once of his own genius and of their valour?

Now I do not find myself of the same opinion at the present moment as at the beginning of my speech. Then I thought I should be able to speak in a fashion worthy of my subject; now I cannot attain to its magnitude, and much that I thought of has escaped me. You must then for ourselves consider together what happiness we should gain by turning

¹ The later name of Paris of Troy.

against the inhabitants of the continent the war which now besets us here, and by transferring to Europe the happiness of Asia. You must not go away hearers and no more, but the men of action should with mutual exhortation endeavour to reconcile our state to that of the Lacedaemonians, while those who dispute the palm of oratory should cease to write concerning fiduciary deposit¹ and the other trifling subjects of their conversation, and should rather direct their rivalry against this discourse, and consider how to speak better than I have done on the same subject, reflecting that it does not befit those who promise great things to occupy themselves with trifles, nor to engage in arguments from which the lives of their audience will gain no advantage by conviction, but to employ discussions, by the realization of which they will not only themselves be relieved from their present embarrassment, but will also be regarded as the source of great blessings to others.

¹ One of the forensic speeches of Isocrates treats of a deposit intrusted to Euthynus. The suit led to a literary feud. Antisthenes the Cynic, a pupil of Gorgias and Speusippus, attacked the speech of Isocrates.

THE DEBATE
OF
ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES
ON THE CROWN

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the whole progress of that important contest, which Athens maintained against the Macedonians, DEMOSTHENES and ÆSCHINES had ever been distinguished by their weight and influence in the assemblies of their state. They had adopted different systems of ministerial conduct, and stood at the head of two opposite parties, each so powerful as to prevail by turns, and to defeat the schemes of their antagonist. The leaders had, on several occasions, avowed their mutual opposition and animosity. Demosthenes, in particular, had brought an impeachment against his rival, and obliged him to enter into a formal defence of his conduct, during an embassy at the court of Macedon. His resentment was confirmed by this desperate attack; and his success, in bearing up against it, encouraged him to watch some favourable opportunity for retorting on his accuser.

The defeat at Chæronea afforded this opportunity. The people in general were, indeed, too equitable to withdraw their confidence from Demosthenes, although his measures had been unsuccessful. But faction, which judges, or affects to judge, merely by events, was violent and clamorous. The minister was reviled, his conduct severely scrutinised, his errors aggravated, his policy condemned, and he himself threatened with inquiries, trials, and impeachments. The zeal of his partizans, on the other hand, was roused by this opposition; and they deemed it expedient to procure some public solemn declaration in favour of Demosthenes, as the most effectual means to silence his accusers.

It was usual with the Athenians, and, indeed, with all the Greeks, when they would express their sense of extraordinary merit, to *crown* the person so distinguished with a chaplet of olive interwoven with gold. The ceremony was performed in some populous assembly, convened either for business or entertainment; and proclamation was made, in due form, of the honour thus conferred, and the services for which it was bestowed.

To procure such an honour for Demosthenes, at this particular juncture, was thought the most effectual means to confound the clamour of his enemies. He had lately been entrusted with the repair of the fortifications of Athens, in which he expended a considerable sum of his own, over and above the public appointment, and thus enlarged the work beyond the letter of his instructions. It was therefore agreed, that CTESIPHON, one of his zealous friends, should take this occasion of moving the senate to prepare a *Decree* (to be ratified by the popular assembly) reciting this particular service of Demosthenes, representing him as a citizen of distinguished merit, and ordaining that a *Golden Crown* (as it was called) should be conferred upon him. To give this transaction the greater solemnity, it was moved that the ceremony should be performed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the festival held in honour of that God, when not only the Athenians, but other Greeks, from all parts of the nation, were assembled to see the tragedies exhibited in that festival.

The senate agreed to the resolution. But, before it could be referred to the popular assembly for their confirmation, Æschines, who had examined the whole transaction with all the severity that hatred and jealousy could inspire, pronounced it irregular and illegal, both in form and matter; and without delay assumed the common privilege of an Athenian citizen, to commence a suit against Ctesiphon as the first mover of a decree repugnant to the laws, a crime of a very heinous nature in the Athenian polity.

The articles on which he founds his accusation are reduced to these three.

ARTICLES

I. WHEREAS every citizen, who has borne any magistracy, is obliged, by law, to lay a full account of his administration before the proper officers, and that it is expressly enacted, that no man shall be capable of receiving any public honours, till this his account hath been duly examined and approved; Ctesiphon hath yet moved that Demosthenes should receive a crown previously to the examination of his conduct in the

office conferred upon him, and before the passing of his accounts.

II. WHEREAS it is ordained that all crowns conferred by the community of citizens shall be presented and proclaimed in their assembly, and in no other place whatsoever; Ctesiphon hath yet proposed that the crown should be presented and proclaimed in the theatre.

III. WHEREAS the laws pronounce it highly penal for any man to insert a falsehood in any motion or decree; Ctesiphon hath yet expressly declared, as the foundation of this his decree, that the conduct of Demosthenes hath been ever excellent, honourable, and highly serviceable to the state; a point directly opposite to the truth.

The two former of these articles he endeavours to establish by an appeal to the laws and ordinances of Athens. Here he was obliged to be critical and copious, which may render the first parts of his pleading not so agreeable to an English reader, as that in which he enters into the public transactions of his country, and the ministerial conduct of his adversary.

The prosecution was commenced in the year of the fatal battle of Chæronea. But the final decision of the cause had been suspended about eight years; and this interval was full of great events, to which each of the speakers frequently alluded.

It was the first care of Alexander, on his accession to the throne, to undeceive those among the Greeks, who, like Demosthenes, had affected to despise his youth. He instantly marched into Peloponnesus, and demanded the people of that country to accept him as commander of their forces against Persia. The Spartans alone sullenly refused. The Athenians, on their part, were intimidated, and yielded to his demand with greater expressions of reverence and submission than they had ever paid to his father.—He returned to Macedon to hasten his preparations, where he found it necessary to march against his barbarous neighbours, who were meditating a descent upon his kingdom. His conflicts with these people occasioned a report to be spread through Greece, that the young king had fallen in battle. The Macedonian faction were

alarmed: their opposers industriously propagated the report, and excited the Greeks to seize this opportunity to rise up against a power which had reduced them to a state of ignominious subjection. The Thebans unhappily yielded to such instances, took arms, and slaughtered the Macedonian garrison that had been stationed in their citadel.

But this insolence and cruelty did not long remain unpunished. Alexander suddenly appeared before their gates, at the head of his army, and in a few days became master of their city, where he executed his vengeance with fire and sword. The miserable state of desolation and captivity to which the Thebans were thus reduced, is ascribed, in the following oration, to the pernicious counsels and machinations of Demosthenes, and displayed in the most lively and pathetic terms.

Nor did this extraordinary instance of rigour fail of its intended effect. The Greeks were astonished and confounded. The Athenians thought it expedient to send a deputation of their citizens to congratulate the king of Macedon on his late successes. Demosthenes was one of the persons chosen to execute this commission; but, conscious of the resentment which his well-known zeal against the Macedonian interest must have merited from Alexander, he deserted the other deputies while they were on their journey, and returned precipitately to Athens. Nor, indeed, were his apprehensions groundless; for, although the address was graciously received, yet the king took this occasion of complaining, in a manner which marked his superiority, of those factious leaders among the Athenians, to whom he affected to impute all the calamities of Greece, from the battle of Chæronea to the destruction of Thebes. He demanded that several of the public speakers, and Demosthenes among the rest, should be delivered up to the power of the Amphyctionic Council, there to abide their trial, and to meet the punishment due to their offences. This was in effect to demand that they should be delivered into his own hands. The Athenians were in the utmost consternation, but found means to deprecate his resentment, and prevail upon him to be satisfied with the banishment of Charidemus, one of his most distinguished opposers: who accordingly repaired to the court of

Darius, where his sage counsel, that the Persian should avoid an engagement with Alexander, provoked the haughty and capricious tyrant to put him to death.

During Alexander's famous expedition into Asia, and the progress of his stupendous victories, Greece enjoyed a sort of calm, and the Athenians found leisure to decide the contest between their rival statesmen. The parties now appeared before a number of judges, probably not less than five hundred, and these chosen from the citizens at large, men of lively and warm imaginations, and of all others most susceptible of the impressions made by the force and artifice of popular eloquence. The partisans of each side crowded round, to assist and support their friend; and the tribunal was surrounded, not only by the citizens of Athens, but by vast numbers from all parts of Greece, curious to hear two so celebrated speakers, upon a subject so engaging as the late national transactions, and to be witnesses of the decision of a cause, which had been, for some years, the object of general attention and expectation.

THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON

You see, ATHENIANS! what forces are prepared, what numbers formed and arrayed, what soliciting through the assembly, by a certain party; and all this, to oppose the fair and ordinary course of justice in the state. As to me, I stand here in firm reliance, first on the immortal gods, next on the laws, and you; convinced that faction never can have greater weight with you, than law and justice.

It were to be wished, indeed, that the presidents of our senate, and of our popular assembly, would attend with due care to the order of their debates; that the laws ordained by Solon, to secure the decency of public speaking, might still preserve their force; that so, our elder citizens might first arise in due and decent form, (as these laws direct), without tumult or confusion; and each declare, in order, the salutary counsels of his sage experience; that, after these, our other citizens who chose to speak, might severally, and in order, according to their ages, propose their sentiments on every subject. Thus, in my opinion, would the course of government be more exactly regulated; and thus would our assemblies be less frequently engaged in trials. But now, when these institutions, so confessedly excellent, have lost their force; when men propose illegal resolutions, without reserve or scruple; when others are found to put them to the vote, not regularly chosen to preside in our assemblies, but men who have raised themselves to this dignity by intrigue; when, if any of the other senators on whom the lot of presidency hath fairly fallen, should discharge his office faithfully, and report your voices truly, there are men who threaten to impeach him, men who invade our rights, and regard the administration as their private property; who have secured their vassals, and raised themselves to sovereignty; who have suppressed such judicial procedures as are founded on established laws, and, in the decision of those appointed by temporary decrees, consult their

passions; now, I say, that most sage and virtuous proclamation is no longer heard: "WHO IS DISPOSED TO SPEAK OF THOSE ABOVE FIFTY YEARS OLD?" and then, "WHO OF THE OTHER CITIZENS IN THEIR TURNS?" Nor is the indecent license of our speakers any longer restrained by our laws, by our magistrates; no, nor by the presiding tribe, which contains a full tenth part of the community.

If such be our situation, such the present circumstances of the state, and of this you seem convinced; one part alone of our polity remains; (as far as I may presume to judge); prosecutions of those who violate the laws.¹ Should you suppress these; should you permit them to be suppressed; I freely pronounce your fate; that your government must be gradually and imperceptibly given up to the power of a few. You are not to be informed, *ATHENIANS!* that there are three different modes of government established in the world; the monarchical, the government of the few, and the free republic. In the two former, the administration is directed by the pleasure of the ruling powers; in free states, it is regulated by established laws. It is then a truth, of which none shall be ignorant, which every man should impress deeply on his mind; that when he enters the tribunal, to decide a case of violation of the laws, he that day gives sentence on his own liberties. Wisely therefore hath our legislator prescribed this, as the first clause in the oath of every judge: "I WILL GIVE MY VOICE AGREEABLY TO THE LAW;" well knowing, that when the laws are preserved sacred in every state, the freedom of their constitution is most effectually secured. Let these things be ever kept

¹ Any citizen might commence a prosecution against the author of any decree or public resolution, which he deemed of pernicious tendency, or repugnant to established laws. The mover of any new law was also liable to the like prosecution. And this was necessary in a constitution like that of Athens, where all decisions were made in large and tumultuous assemblies. Here, a few leaders might easily gain an absolute authority, and prevail upon the giddy multitude to consent to any proposition whatever, (if enforced by plausible arguments) unless they were restrained by the fear of being called to account for the motions they had made, and the resolutions passed at their instances.

in memory, that your indignation may be kindled against all those whose decrees have been illegal. Let not any of their offences be deemed of little moment, but all of the greatest importance; nor suffer your rights to be wrested from you, by any power; neither by the combinations of your generals, who, by conspiring with our public speakers, have frequently involved the state in danger; nor by the solicitations of foreigners, who have been brought up to screen some men from justice, whose administration hath been notoriously illegal. But¹ as each man among you would be ashamed to desert from his post in battle; so think it shameful to abandon the post this day assigned to you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.

Let it also be remembered, that the whole body of our citizens hath now committed their state, their liberties, into your hands. Some of them are present, awaiting the event of this trial; others are called away to attend on their private affairs. Shew the due reverence to these; remember your oaths and your laws; and if we convict Ctesiphon of having proposed decrees illegal, false, and detrimental to the state, reverse these illegal decrees, assert the freedom of your constitution, and punish those who have administered your affairs in opposition to your laws, in contempt of your constitution, and in total disregard of your interest. If, with these sentiments impressed upon your minds, you attend to what is now to be proposed, you must, I am convinced, proceed to a decision just and religious, a decision of the utmost advantage to yourselves, and to the state.

As to the general nature of this prosecution, thus far have I premised, and, I trust, without offence. Let me now request your attention to a few words about the laws relative to persons ACCOUNTABLE to the public, which have been violated by the decree proposed by Ctesiphon.

In former times there were found magistrates of the most

¹ To perceive the whole force and artifice of this similitude, the reader is to recollect, that at the battle of Chæronea, Demosthenes betrayed the utmost weakness and cowardice, a matter of great triumph to his enemies, and a constant subject of their ridicule.

distinguished rank, and entrusted with the management of our revenues, who in their several stations were guilty of the basest corruption, but who, by forming an interest with the speakers in the senate, and in the popular assembly, anticipated their accounts by public honours, and declarations of applause. Thus, when their conduct came to a formal examination, their accusers were involved in great perplexity, their judges in still greater. For many of the persons thus subject to examination, though convicted, on the clearest evidence, of having defrauded the public, were yet suffered to escape from justice; and no wonder. The judges were ashamed that the same man, in the same city, possibly in the same year, should be publicly honoured in our festivals, that proclamation should be made, "that the people had conferred a golden crown upon him, on account of his integrity and virtue;" that the same man, I say, in a short time after, when his conduct had been brought to an examination, should depart from the tribunal, condemned of fraud. In their sentence, therefore, the judges were necessarily obliged to attend, not to the nature of those offences, but to the reputation of the state.

Some of our magistrates¹ observing this, framed a law, (and its excellence is undeniable) expressly forbidding any man to be honoured with a crown, whose conduct had not yet been submitted to the legal examination. But, notwithstanding all the precaution of the framers of this law, pretences were still found of force sufficient to defeat its intention. Of these you are to be informed, lest you should be unwarily betrayed into error. Some of those who in defiance of the laws have moved, that men who yet stood accountable for their conduct, should be crowned, are still influenced by some degree of decency (if this can with propriety be said of men who propose resolutions directly subversive of the laws): they still seek to cast a kind of veil upon their shame. Hence are they sometimes careful to express their resolutions in this manner, "that the man whose conduct is not yet submitted to examina-

¹ Those who were appointed to revise the laws, and to propose the amendment or abrogation of such as were found inconvenient, as well as such new laws as the public interest seemed to demand.

tion, shall be honoured with a crown," "when his accounts have first been examined, and approved." But this is no less injurious to the state; for by these crowns and public honours is his conduct prejudged, and his examination anticipated: while the author of such resolutions demonstrates to his hearers, that his proposal is a violation of the laws, and that he is ashamed of his offence. But Ctesiphon (my countrymen) hath at once broken through the laws relative to the examination of our magistrates; he hath scorned to recur to that subterfuge now explained: he hath moved you to confer a crown upon Demosthenes, previously to any account, to any examination of his conduct: at the very time while he was yet employed in the discharge of his magistracy.

But there is another evasion of a different kind, to which they are to recur. These offices, say they, to which a citizen is elected by an occasional decree, are by no means to be accounted *magistracies*, but *commissions*, or *agencies*. Those alone are magistrates whom the proper officers¹ appoint by lot in the temple of Theseus, or the people elect by suffrage in their ordinary assemblies; such as generals of the army, commanders of the cavalry, and such-like; all others are but commissioners, who are but to execute a particular decree. To this their plea I shall oppose your own law, a law enacted from a firm conviction, that it must at once put an end to all such evasions. In this it is expressly declared, that all offices whatever, appointed by the voices of the people, shall be accounted magistracies. In one general term the author of this law hath included all. All hath he declared MAGISTRATES, whom the VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY HAVE APPOINTED: and particularly THE INSPECTORS OF PUBLIC WORKS.—Now Demosthenes inspected the repair of our walls, the most important of public works.—THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN ENTRUSTED WITH ANY PUBLIC MONEY FOR MORE THAN THIRTY DAYS. THOSE WHO ARE ENTITLED TO PRESIDE IN A TRIBUNAL.²—But

¹ In the original, *Thesmothetæ*, i.e., the six inferior Archons, who were called by this general name, while each of the three first had his peculiar title.

² There was scarcely any Athenian at all employed in public business, but had some sort of jurisdiction annexed to his office. Inferior suits

the inspectors of works are entitled to this privilege.—What then doth the law direct? That all such should assume not their COMMISSIONS, but their MAGISTRACY, having first been judicially approved: (for even the magistrates appointed by lot are not exempted from this previous inquiry, but must be first approved, before they assume their office). These are also directed by the law to submit the accounts of their administration to the legal officers, as well as every other magistrate. And for the truth of what I now advance, to the laws themselves do I appeal.—Read—

The Laws are here read.

Here then you find that what these men call commissions or agencies, are declared to be magistracies. It is your part to bear this in memory, to oppose the law to their presumption: to convince them that you are not to be influenced by the wretched sophistical artifice, that would defeat the force of laws by words; and that the greater their address in defending their illegal proceedings, the more severely must they feel your resentment. For the public speaker should ever use the same language with the law. Should he at any time speak in one language, and the law pronounce another, to the just authority of law should you grant your voices, not to the shameless presumption of the speaker.

To that argument on which Demosthenes relies, as utterly unanswerable, I would now briefly speak.—This man will say, “I am director of the fortifications. I confess it. But I have expended of my own money, for the public service, an additional sum of one hundred minæ, and enlarged the work beyond my instructions; for what then am I to account? Unless a man is to be made accountable for his own beneficence.”—To this evasion you shall hear a just and good reply.—In this city of so ancient an establishment, and a circuit so extensive, there is not a man exempted from account, who has the smallest part in the affairs of state. This I shall shew, and controversies were thus multiplied, and found perpetual employment for this lively meddling people: who were trained from their youth, and constantly exercised in the arts of managing and conducting suits at law.

first in instances scarcely credible. Thus, the priests and priestesses are by the laws obliged to account for the discharge of their office: all in general, and each in particular; although they have received no more than an honorary pension, and have had no other duty but of offering up their prayers for us to the gods. And this is not the case of single persons only, but of whole tribes, as the *Eumolpidæ* the *Ceryces*,¹ and all the others. Again, the trierarchs² are by the law made accountable for their conduct; although no public money hath been committed to their charge; although they have not embezzled large portions of their revenue, and accounted but for a small part; although they have not affected to confer bounties on you, while they really but restored your own property; no; they confessedly expended their paternal fortunes to approve their zealous affection for your service; and not our trierarchs alone, but the greatest assemblies in the state, are bound to submit to the sentence of our tribunals. First, the law directs, that the council of the Areopagus shall stand accountable to the proper officers, and submit their august transactions to a legal examination; thus our greatest judicial body stands in perpetual dependence upon your decisions. Shall the members of this council then be precluded from the honour of a crown?—Such has been the ordinance from times the most remote.—And have they no regard to public honour?—So scrupulous is their regard, that it is not deemed sufficient that their conduct should not be notoriously criminal, their least irregularity is severely punished; a discipline too rigorous for our delicate orators. Again, our lawgiver directs, that the senate of five hundred shall be bound to account for their conduct; and so great diffidence doth he express of those who have not yet rendered such an account, that in the very beginning of the law it is ordained, “that no magistrate, who hath not yet passed through the ordinary examination, shall be permitted to go abroad.”—But here a man may exclaim,

¹ Families (so called from their founders, Eumolpus and Ceryx) who had an hereditary right of priesthood.

² Rich citizens who were required not only to command, but to equip a war vessel at their own expense.

"What! In the name of heaven, am I, because I have been in office, to be confirmed to the city?"—*Yes, and with good reason*; lest, when you have secreted the public money, and betrayed your trust, you might enjoy your perfidy by flight. Again, the laws forbid the man who hath not yet accounted to the state, to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, to deposit any offering in a temple, to accept of an adoption into any family, to make any alienation of his property; and to many other instances is the prohibition extended. In one word, our lawgiver hath provided that the fortunes of such persons shall be secured as a pledge to the community, until their accounts are fairly examined and approved. Nay, further, suppose there be a man who hath neither received nor expended any part of the public money, but hath only been concerned in some affairs relative to the state: even such a one is bound to submit his accounts to the proper officers. "But how can the man, who hath neither received nor expended, pass such accounts?" The law hath obviated this difficulty, and expressly prescribed the form of his accounts. It directs that it shall consist of this declaration: "I have not received, neither have I disposed of any public money." "To confirm the truth of this, hear the laws themselves."

The Laws are here read.

When Demosthenes therefore shall exult in his evasion, and insist that he is not to be accountable for the additional sum which he bestowed freely on the state, press him with this reply: "It was then your duty, Demosthenes, to have permitted the usual and legal proclamation to be made: 'WHO IS DISPOSED TO PROSECUTE?' and to have given an opportunity to every citizen that pleased to have urged on his part, that you bestowed no such additional sum; but that, on the contrary, having been entrusted with ten talents for the repair of our fortifications, you really expended but a small part of this great sum. Do not assume an honour to which you have no pretensions; do not wrest their suffrages from your judges; do not act in presumptuous contempt of the laws, but with due submission yield to their guidance. Such is the conduct that must secure the freedom of our constitution."

As to the evasions on which these men rely, I trust that I have spoken sufficiently. That Demosthenes really stood accountable to the state, at the time when this man proposed his decree; that he was really a magistrate, as manager of the theatrical funds; a magistrate, as inspector of the fortifications; that his conduct in either of these offices had not been examined, had not obtained the legal approbation, I shall now endeavour to demonstrate from the public records. Read, in whose archonship, in what month, on what day, in what assembly, Demosthenes was chosen into the office of manager of the theatrical funds. So shall it appear that, during the execution of this office, the decree was made, which conferred this crown upon him.—Read—

The Computation of the Times is here read.

If then I should here rest my cause, without proceeding further, Ctesiphon must stand convicted; convicted, not by the arguments of his accuser, but by the public records. In former times, Athenians, it was the custom that the state should elect a comptroller, who, in every presidency of each tribe, was to return to the people an exact state of the finances. But by the implicit confidence which you reposed in Eubulus, the men who were chosen to the management of the theatrical money, executed this office of comptroller, (I mean before the law of Hegemon was enacted) together with the offices of receiver, and of inspector of our naval affairs; they were charged with the building of our arsenals, with the repair of our roads; in a word, they were entrusted with the conduct of almost all our public business. I say not this to impeach their conduct, or to arraign their integrity; I mean but to convince you, that our laws have expressly directed, that no man yet accountable for his conduct in any one office, even of the smallest consequence, shall be entitled to the honour of a crown, until his accounts have been regularly examined and approved: and that Ctesiphon hath yet presumed to confer this honour on Demosthenes, when engaged in every kind of public magistracy. At the time of this decree, he was a magistrate as inspector of the fortifications, a magistrate as entrusted with public money, and, like other officers of the state,

imposed fines, and presided in tribunals. These things I shall prove by the testimony of Demosthenes and Ctesiphon themselves. For, in the Archonship of Chærondas, on the 22d of the month Thargelion, was a popular assembly held, in which Demosthenes obtained a decree, appointing a convention of the tribes on the 2d of the succeeding month; and on the third his decree directed still further, that supervisors should be chosen, and treasurers, from each tribe, for conducting the repairs of our fortifications. And justly did he thus direct; that the public might have the security of good and responsible citizens, who might return a fair account of all disbursements.—Read these decrees.

The Decrees are here read.

Yes. But you will hear it urged in answer, that to this office of inspector of the works he was not appointed in the general assembly, either by lot or suffrage. This is an argument on which Demosthenes and Ctesiphon will dwell with the utmost confidence. My answer shall be easy, plain, and brief; but first I would premise a few things on this subject. Observe, Athenians! Of magistracy there are three kinds. First, those appointed by lot or by election. Secondly, the men who have managed public money for more than thirty days, or have inspected public works. To these the law adds another species, and expressly declares, that all such persons as, in consequence of a regular appointment, have enjoyed the right of jurisdiction, shall, when approved, be accounted magistrates. So that, should we take away the magistrates appointed by lot or suffrage, there yet remains the last kind, of those appointed by the tribes, or the thirds of tribes, or by particular districts, to manage public money, all which are declared to be magistrates from the time of their appointment. And this happens in cases like that before us, where it is a direction to the tribes to make canals, or to build ships of war. For the truth of this, I appeal to the laws themselves.—Read—

The Law is here read.

Let it be remembered, that, as I have already observed, the sentence of the law is this, that all those appointed to any

office by their tribes shall act as magistrates, when first judicially approved. But the Pandionian tribe hath made Demosthenes a magistrate, by appointing him an inspector of the works; and for this purpose he hath been entrusted with public money to the amount of near ten talents. Again, another law expressly forbids any magistrate, who yet stands accountable for his conduct, to be honoured with a crown. You have sworn to give sentence according to the laws. Here is a speaker who hath brought in a decree for granting a crown to a man yet accountable for his conduct. Nor hath he added that saving clause, "when his accounts have first been passed." I have proved the point of illegality from the testimony of your laws, from the testimony of your decrees, and from that of the opposite parties. How then can any man support a prosecution of this nature with greater force and clearness?

But further, I shall now demonstrate that this decree is also a violation of the law, by the manner in which it directs that this crown shall be proclaimed. The laws declare, in terms the most explicit, that, if any man receives a crown from the senate, the proclamation shall be made in the senate-house; if by the people, in the assembly: never in any other place. Read this law.

The Law is here read.

And this institution is just and excellent. The author of this law seems to have been persuaded, that a public speaker should not ostentatiously display his merits before foreigners; that he should be contented with the approbation of this city, of these his fellow-citizens; without practising vile arts to procure a public honour. So thought our lawgiver. What are the sentiments of Ctesiphon? Read his decree.

The Decree is here read.

You have heard, Athenians, that the law directs, in every case where a crown is granted by the people, that the proclamation shall be made in presence of the people, in the Pnyx, in full assembly: never in any other place. Yet Ctesiphon hath appointed proclamation to be made in the theatre: not con-

tented that the act itself should violate our laws, he hath presumed to change the scene of it. He confers this honour, not while the people are assembled, but while the new tragedies are exhibiting; not in the presence of the people, but of the Greeks; that they too may know on what kind of man our honours are conferred.

And now when the illegal nature of this decree is so incontestibly established, the author, assisted by his confederate Demosthenes, hath yet recourse to subtleties, in order to evade the force of justice. These I must explain; I must so guard you against them, that you may not be surprised by their pernicious influence.—These men can by no means deny, that our laws expressly direct, that a crown conferred on any citizen by the people shall be proclaimed in the assembly, and in no other place. But, to defend their conduct, they produce a law relative to our festivals: of this they but quote a part, that they may more effectually deceive you: and thus recur to an ordinance by no means applicable to the case before us. Accordingly they will tell you, there are in this state two laws enacted relative to proclamations. One is, that which I have now produced, expressly forbidding the proclamation of a crown granted by the people to be issued in any other place but the assembly. The other, say they, is contrary to this: it allows the liberty of proclaiming a crown so conferred, in the theatre, when the tragedies are exhibited, PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL SO DETERMINE BY THEIR VOICES. On this law it is (thus will they plead) that Ctesiphon has founded his decree. To this artifice I shall oppose your own laws, my assistants,¹ my constant reliance, through the whole course of this prosecution. If this be so; if such a custom hath been admitted into our government; that laws repealed are still allowed to hold their place amidst those in full force; that two, directly contradictory to each other, are enacted on the

¹ *My assistants.* The strict import of the original expression is *my council*, or *my advocate*. So that, by a bold figure, the Laws are represented, as personally present, supporting the cause of Æschines, pleading on his side, detecting the fallacy and prevarication of his adversary.

same subject; what shall we pronounce on that polity, where the laws command and forbid the very same things? But this is by no means the case; and never may your public acts be exposed to such disorder! The great lawgiver, to whom we owe our constitution, was not inattentive to guard against such dangers. It is his express direction, that, in every year, our body of laws shall be adjusted by the ega inspectors, in the popular assembly; and if, after due examination and inspection, it shall appear, that a law hath been enacted contradictory to a former law; or that any one, when repealed, shall still hold its place among those actually in force; or that any more than one have been enacted on the same subject; that, in all such cases, the laws shall be transcribed and fixed up in public on the statues of our heroes; that the presidents shall convene the assembly, shall specify the authors of these several laws, and that the proper officer shall propose the question to the people, that they may by their voices repeal some, and establish others; that so one single law, and no more, may remain in force on one subject. To prove this,—Read the laws—

The Laws are here read.

If then the allegations of these men were just; and that in reality there were two different laws relative to proclamations; it seems impossible but that the inspectors must have detected this; the presidents of the assembly must have returned them to their respective authors; and the one or other must have been repealed, either that which grants the power of proclaiming, or that which denies it. But since nothing of all this appears, these men must stand convicted of asserting what is not only false, but absolutely impossible.

The source, from whence they derive this falsehood, I shall here explain; when first I have premised, on what occasion these laws were enacted relative to proclamations in the theatre. —It hath been the custom in this city, during the performance of the tragedies, that certain persons made proclamation, not of an act ordained of the people, but some, of a crown conferred upon them by their tribe, or sometimes by their district; of others it was thus notified that they granted freedom to their slaves, to which they called on the Greeks as witnesses,

and (which was the most invidious case) some persons, who had obtained the honours of hospitable reception in foreign states, used their interest to gain a proclamation, importing that such a community, as that of Rhodes for instance, or of Chios, conferred a crown upon them, on account of their virtue and magnanimity. And this they did, not as men honoured by the senate or by the people, in consequence of your concession, by virtue of your suffrage, and with a due acknowledgment of your favour, but merely on their own authority, without any decree of yours. By these means it happened, that the audience, and the managers, and the performers, were disturbed: and the men who obtained proclamations in the theatre, were really more honoured than those on whom the people conferred crowns. These had a place assigned for receiving these honours, the assembly; in no other place could proclamation be made: the others displayed their honours in the presence of all the Greeks. The one obtained their crowns from your decree, by your permission: the others, without any decree. One of our statesmen, observing this, established a law by no means interfering with that which respects persons crowned by the people; by no means tending to render this invalid: for it was not the assembly that was disturbed, but the theatre: nor was it his intention to contradict laws already established: our constitution forbids this. No; the law I mean solely regards those who are crowned, without a decree of the people, by their tribe or district; those who give freedom to their slaves; those who receive crowns from foreigners; and it expressly provides, that no person shall make their slaves free in the theatre; no persons shall be proclaimed as honoured with a crown by their tribe, by their district, or by any other people whatsoever (these are the words of this law) on pain of infamy to the herald who shall make such proclamation.

Since then it is provided, that those crowned by the senate shall be proclaimed in the senate-house, those by the people, in the assembly; since it is expressly forbidden that men crowned by their districts, or by their tribes, shall have proclamation made in the theatre; that no man may indulge an idle vanity, by public honours thus clandestinely procured. Since the law directs still further, that no proclamation shall be made

by any others, but by the senate, by the people, by the tribes, or by the districts, respectively; if we deduct all these cases, what will remain but crowns conferred by foreigners? That I speak with truth, the law itself affords a powerful argument. It directs that the golden crown, conferred by proclamation in the theatre, shall be taken from the person thus honoured, and consecrated to Minerva. But who shall presume to impute so illiberal a procedure to the community of Athens? Can the state, or can a private person be suspected of a spirit so sordid, that, when they themselves have granted a crown, when it hath been just proclaimed, they should take it back again and dedicate it? No. I apprehend that such dedication is made, because the crown is conferred by foreigners, that no man, by valuing the affection of strangers at a higher rate than that of his country, may suffer corruption to steal into his heart. But when a crown hath been proclaimed in the assembly, is the person honoured bound to dedicate it? No, he is allowed to possess it, that not he alone, but his posterity may retain such a memorial in their family, and never suffer their affections to be alienated from their country. Hence hath the author of the law further provided, that no proclamation shall be made in the theatre of any foreign crown, unless the people shall so direct by their decree; so the community, which is desirous of granting a crown to any of our citizens, may be obliged to send ambassadors and solicit your permission, and the person crowned shall owe less gratitude to those who confer this honour, than to you, by whose permission it is proclaimed. For the truth of this, consult the laws themselves.

The Laws are here read.

When these men therefore insidiously alleged, that the law hath declared it allowable to confer a crown, by virtue of a decree of the assembly, remember to make this reply: "True; if such a crown be offered by any other state; but if it be the gift of the Athenian people, the place of conferring it is determined. No proclamation is to be made but in the assembly." Wrest and torture this clause, "AND IN NO OTHER PLACE WHATEVER," to the utmost; still you can never prove that your decree hath not violated the laws.

There remains a part of this my accusation, on which I must enlarge with the greatest care; that which respects the pretence on which he hath pronounced this man worthy of the crown. These are the words of his decree: "AND THE HERALD SHALL MAKE PROCLAMATION IN THE THEATRE, IN PRESENCE OF THE GREEKS, THAT THE COMMUNITY OF ATHENS HATH CROWNED HIM, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS VIRTUE AND MAGNANIMITY; AND (what is still stronger) FOR HIS CONSTANT AND INVIOABLE ATTACHMENT TO THE INTEREST OF THE STATE, THROUGH THE COURSE OF ALL HIS COUNSELS AND ADMINISTRATION." And, from hence forward, I have but to lay before you a plain simple detail; such as can give you no trouble in forming your determination. For it is my part, as the prosecutor, to satisfy you in this single point, that the praises here bestowed on Demosthenes are false: that there never was a time in which he commenced faithful counsellor, far from persevering in any course of conduct advantageous to the state. If this be proved, Ctesiphon must at once stand justly condemned; for all our laws declare, that no man is to insert any falsehood in the public decrees. On the other hand, it is incumbent on the defendant to prove the contrary. You are to determine on our several allegations. Thus then I proceed.

To enter into a minute examination of the life of Demosthenes, I fear might lead me into a detail too tedious. And why should I insist on such points, as the circumstances of the indictment for his wound, brought before the Areopagus, against Demomeles his kinsman, and the gashes he inflicted on his own head? Or why should I speak of the expedition under Cephisodotus, and the sailing of our fleet to the Hellespont, when Demosthenes acted as a trierarch; entertained the admiral on board his ship; made him partaker of his table, of his sacrifices and religious rites; confessed his just right to all those instances of affection, as an hereditary friend; and yet, when an impeachment had been brought against him which affected his life, appeared as his accuser? Why, again, should I take notice of his affair with Midias; of the blows which he received in his office of director of the entertainments; or, how, for the sum of thirty minæ, he compounded this insult,

as well as the sentence which the people pronounced against Midias in the theatre? These and the like particulars I determine to pass over; not that I would betray the cause of justice; not that I would recommend myself to favour by an affected tenderness, but lest it should be objected, that I produce facts true indeed, but long since acknowledged and notorious. Say then Ctesiphon; when the most heinous instances of this man's baseness, are so incontestably evident, that his accuser exposes himself to the censure not of advancing falsehoods, but of recurring to facts so long acknowledged and notorious; is he to be publicly honoured, or to be branded with infamy? And shall you, who have presumed to form decrees equally contrary to truth and to the laws, insolently bid defiance to the tribunal, or feel the weight of public justice?

My objections to his public conduct shall be more explicit. I am informed that Demosthenes, when admitted to his defence, means to enumerate four different periods, in which he was engaged in the administration of affairs. One, and the first of these, (as I am assured,) he accounts, that time in which we were at war with Philip for Amphipolis. And this period he closes with the peace and alliance which we concluded, in consequence of the decree proposed by Philocrates, in which Demosthenes had equal share, as I shall immediately demonstrate. The second period he computes from the time in which we enjoyed this peace, down to that day when he put an end to a treaty that had, till then, subsisted; and himself proposed the decree for war. The third, from the time when hostilities were commenced, down to the fatal battle of Chæronea. The fourth is this present time.

After this particular specification, as I am informed, he means to call upon me, and to demand explicitly, On which of these four periods I found my prosecution? and, at what particular time, I object to his administration, as inconsistent with the public interest? Should I refuse to answer, should I attempt the least evasion or retreat, he boasts that he will pursue me, and tear off my disguise; that he will haul me to the tribunal, and compel me to reply. That I may, then, at once confound this presumption, and guard you against such artifice,

I thus explicitly reply; before these your judges, before the other citizens spectators of this trial, before all the Greeks who have been solicitous to hear the event of this cause, (and of these I see no small number, but rather more than ever yet were known to attend on any public trial,) I thus reply, I say, that on every one of these four periods, which you have thus distinguished, is my accusation founded. And, if the gods vouchsafe me their assistance; if the judges grant me an impartial hearing; and, if my memory shall faithfully recal the several instances of your guilt; I am fully confident that I shall demonstrate to this tribunal, that the preservation of the state is to be ascribed to the gods, and to those citizens who have conducted our affairs with a truly patriot and well-tempered zeal; and, that all our calamities are to be imputed to Demosthenes as their real author. And, in this charge, I shall observe the very same method, which, as I am informed, he intends to use. I shall begin with speaking of his first period; then proceed to the second and the third in order; and conclude with observations on present affairs. To that peace then I now go back, of which you Demosthenes and Philocrates were the first movers.

You had the fairest opportunity (Athenians) of concluding this first peace in conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks, had certain persons suffered you to wait the return of our ambassadors, at that time sent through Greece to invite the states to join in the general confederacy against Philip; and, in the progress of these negociations, the Greeks would have freely acknowledged you the leading state. Of these advantages were you deprived by Demosthenes and Philocrates, and by the bribes which they received in traitorous conspiracy against your government. If, at first view, this assertion should seem incredible to any in this tribunal, let such attend to what is now to be advanced, just as men set down to the accounts of money a long time since expended. We sometimes come from home, possessed with false opinions of the state of such accounts. But, when the several sums have been exactly collected, there is no man of a temper so obstinate as to dissemble, or to refuse his assent to the truth of that which the account itself exhibits. Hear me, in the present cause, with

dispositions of the same kind. And, if, with respect to past transactions, any one among you hath come hither possessed with an opinion, that Demosthenes never yet appeared as advocate for the interests of Philip, in dark confederacy with Philocrates; if any man, I say, be so persuaded, let him suspend his judgment, and neither assent nor deny, until he hath heard; (for justice requires this.) And, if I shall obtain your attention to a brief recital of these periods, and to the decree which Demosthenes and Philocrates jointly proposed; if the fair state of truth itself shall convict Demosthenes of having proposed many decrees in concert with Philocrates, relative to the former peace and alliance; of having flattered Philip and his ambassadors with a most abandoned and shameful servility; of having precipitated our negotiations without waiting the return of our deputies; and forced the people into a separate peace, without the concurrence of the general convention of the Greeks; of having betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip; if I shall clearly prove these points, I make but this reasonable request, that, in the name of Heaven, you would concur with me, that, during the first of these four periods, his administration hath been by no means excellent. I shall proceed in such a manner, that you may accompany me without any difficulty.

Philocrates proposed a decree, by which Philip was admitted to send hither his heralds and ambassadors to treat about a peace and an alliance. This decree was accused as a violation of the law: the time of trial came: Lycinus, who had first moved for this trial, now appeared as prosecutor: Philocrates entered on his defence; in this he was assisted by Demosthenes; and Philocrates escaped. Then came the time in which Themistocles was archon. During his magistracy, Demosthenes obtains a seat in the senate, as a member of that body, without any immediate right, or any reversionary title, but by intrigue and bribery; and this in order to support Philocrates with all his power and interest, as the event itself discovered.¹ For Philocrates prevailed still

¹ *i.e.*, Demosthenes was an additional member of the senate, and not

further, so as to obtain another decree, by which it was resolved to choose ten deputies, who should repair to Philip, and require him to send hither ambassadors, with full powers to conclude a peace. Of these Demosthenes was one. At his return to the city, he applauded the treaty; his report was exactly consonant with that of the other deputies; and he alone, of all the senators, moved, that we should proceed to a solemn ratification of the treaty with Philip's ministers.

Thus did he complete the work which Philocrates began. The one allows these ministers to repair to Athens: the other ratifies the negotiation.—What I am now to observe, demands your utmost attention. Through the course of this treaty, the other deputies, (who, upon a change of affairs, were exposed to all the malignity of Demosthenes,) had scarcely any transactions with the ministers of Macedon. The great agents were Demosthenes and Philocrates, and with good reason; for they had not only acted as deputies, but had also been authors of the decrees which secured these important points; first, that you should not wait the return of the ambassadors, sent to unite the Greeks against Philip; that you should conclude this treaty separately, and not in conjunction with the Greeks; secondly, that you should resolve not only to conclude a peace, but an alliance with Philip; that, if any of the states preserved a regard for us, they might at once be confounded with despair, when, at the very time that you were prompting them to war, they found you not only concluding a peace, but entering into a strict alliance with the enemy: and, lastly, that Cersobleptes should be excluded from the treaty; that he should be denied a share in this alliance and this peace, at the very time when his kingdom was threatened with an immediate invasion.

The prince whose gold purchased those important points, is by no means to be accused. Before the treaty was concluded, and previously to his solemn engagements, we can-

one chosen by lot into the office, nor appointed conditionally to fill the place of another on whom the lot had fallen but who either had died or whose character had not been approved upon the scrutiny previously necessary to a citizen's entering into any public office.

not impute it as a crime, that he pursued his own interests. But the men, who traitorously resigned into his hands the strength and security of the state, should justly feel the severest effects of your resentment. He then, who now declares himself the enemy of Alexander; Demosthenes, who, at that time, was the enemy of Philip, he, who objects to me my connections of friendship with Alexander, proposed a decree utterly subversive of the regular and gradual course of public business, by which the magistrates were to convene an assembly on the eighth of the month Elaphebolion, a day destined to the sacrifices and religious ceremonies in honour of Æsculapius, when the rites were just preparing. And, what was the pretence for choosing this solemn festival, on which no assembly hath ever been remembered? "In order, (saith he,) that, if ambassadors should arrivè from Macedon, the people may, as soon as possible, deliberate on sending their deputies to Philip." Thus, before the ambassadors had yet appeared, an assembly was secured to favour them; you were at once precluded from all the advantages which time might produce; and your transactions fatally precipitated, that you might conclude this treaty separately, not in conjunction with the Greeks, on the return of your ambassadors. After this, the ministers of Philip arrived at Athens; ours were still abroad, labouring to stir up the Greeks against Macedon. Then did Demosthenes obtain another decree, by which it was resolved, that you should take into consideration, not only a peace, but an alliance; and this, (without waiting for the return of your ambassadors,) immediately after the festival of Bacchus, on the 18th day of the month. For the truth of this, I appeal to the decrees.

The Decrees are here read.

After these festivals, our assemblies were accordingly convened. In the first was the general resolution of our allies publicly read; the heads of which I shall here briefly recite. They, in the first place, resolved, that you should proceed to deliberate only about a peace. Of an alliance not one word was mentioned, and this not from inattention, but because they deemed even a peace itself rather necessary than hon-

ourable. In the next place, they wisely provided against the fatal consequences of the corruption of Demosthenes; for they expressly resolved still further, that "it shall and may be lawful for any of the Grecian states whatever, within the space of three months, to accede in due form to this treaty, to join in the same solemn engagements, and to be included in the same stipulations." Thus were two most important points secured. First, an interval of three months was provided for the Greeks, a time sufficient to prepare their deputations: and, then, the whole collected body of the nation stood well affected and attached to Athens; that, if at any time the treaty should be violated, we might not be involved in war single and unsupported. These resolutions are themselves the amplest testimony to the truth of my assertions.

The Resolutions of the Allies are here read.

To these resolutions, I confess that I gave my voice, as did all the speakers in the first assembly. And the people in general rose with a firm persuasion, that a peace indeed should be concluded; but that, as to an alliance, it would be most expedient to postpone the consideration of this, on account of the invitations sent through Greece, as this should be the act of the whole nation. Night intervened; and the next morning we were again assembled. But now Demosthenes had taken care to secure the gallery, and to exclude all those who might speak against his measures: he declared, that all the proceedings of the day before must be utterly ineffectual, unless the Macedonian ministers could be persuaded to concur; that he, on his part, had no conception of a peace distinct from an alliance; we ought not, said he, (I well remember his expression, which the odiousness, both of the speaker and of the term itself, hath impressed deeply upon my mind) we ought not to REND the alliance from the peace: we ought not to wait the dilatory proceedings of the Greeks; but at once determine either to support the war alone, or to make a separate peace. He concluded with calling up Antipater to the gallery; he proposed some questions to him which had been previously concerted between them, and to which he instructed him in such a reply, as might effectually defeat the

interest of the state. Thus the deliberation ended, in the full establishment of those measures to which the importunity of Demosthenes extorted your consent, and which were confirmed in form by the decree of Philocrates.

Nothing now remained, but to make an absolute resignation of Cersobleptes and the Thracian territories. And this they effected on the 26th of the same month, before that Demosthenes hath proceeded on the second embassy appointed for the solemn ratification of the treaty. For this hater of Alexander, this foe to Philip, this your public speaker, went twice on an embassy to Macedon, although he needed not have once accepted of this charge: he who now urges you to spurn with contempt at the Macedonians, he, I say, having taken his place in the assembly, I mean, that which was convened on the 26th, he, whose intrigues procured him the dignity of a senator, betrayed Cersobleptes into the hands of Philip, with the assistance of his confederate Philocrates. For this Philocrates surreptitiously inserted in his decree, that decree which Demosthenes proposed in form, the following cause among many others; "that the several representatives of the allies shall be bound to enter into solemn ratifications of the peace with the ministers of Philip ON THIS VERY DAY." But Cersobleptes had no representatives then present; and therefore he who moved that the representatives should then swear to the treaty, by direct consequence excluded Cersobleptes from the treaty, who had not been at all represented in this assembly. To prove the truth of this, read the authors of this decree, and the name of the president who proposed it.

The Decree is here read, and the name of the President is given.

A noble institution this, a truly noble institution, Athenians, this exact preservation of our public records. Thus they remain unalterable, and never change from one to the other party, with our variable politicians; but, whenever we are pleased to resort to them, afford us ample satisfaction as to the real characters of those who, after a long course of baseness, affect to be thought men of worth and excellence, on any change of circumstances.

It remains, that I produce some instances of his abandoned flattery. For one whole year, did Demosthenes enjoy the honour of a senator; and yet, in all that time, it never appears that he moved to grant precedence to any ministers: for the first, the only time he conferred this distinction on the ministers of Philip; he servilely attended to accommodate them with his cushions and his carpets; by the dawn of day he conducted them to the theatre; and, by his indecent and abandoned adulation, raised an universal uproar of derision. When they were on their departure towards Thebes, he hired three teams of mules, and conducted them in state into that city. Thus did he expose his country to ridicule. But, that I may confine myself to facts, read the decree relative to the grant of precedence.

The Decree¹ is here read.

And yet this abject, this enormous flatterer, when he had been the first that received advice of Philip's death, from the emissaries of Charidemus, pretended a divine vision, and, with a shameless lie, declared that this intelligence had been conveyed to him, not by Charidemus, but by Jupiter and Minerva. Thus he dared to boast, that these divinities, by whom he had sworn falsely in the day, had condescended to hold communication with him in the night, and to inform him of futurity. Seven days had now scarcely elapsed, since the death of his daughter, when this wretch, before he had performed the usual rites of mourning, before he had duly paid her funeral honours, crowned his head with a chaplet, put on his white robe, made a solemn sacrifice in despite of law and decency; and this when he had lost his child, the first, the only child that had ever called him by the tender name of father. I say not this to insult his misfortunes; I mean but to display his real character. For he who hates his children, he who is a bad parent, cannot possibly prove a good minister. He who is insensible to that natural affection which should engage his heart to those who are most intimate and near to

¹ For an account of this transaction see the Life of Demosthenes by Plutarch.

him, can never feel a greater regard to your welfare, than to that of strangers. He who acts wickedly in private life, cannot prove excellent in his public conduct; he who is base at home, can never acquit himself with honour when sent to a strange country in a public character. For it is not the man, but the scene that changes.

By what fortunate revolution he hath been enabled to assume a new character; (for I now come to the second period) whence it is, that Philocrates, for the same conduct in which he was equally concerned, hath been impeached and condemned to exile, while Demosthenes supports his station, and maintains the power of impeaching others; and by what means this abandoned wretch hath been enabled to plunge you into such calamities; these are points which merit your peculiar attention.

When Philip, then, had possessed himself of Thermopylæ by surprise; when, contrary to all expectation, he had subverted the cities of the Phocians; when he had raised the state of Thebes to a degree of power too great (as we then thought) for the times, or for our interest; when we were in such consternation that our effects were all collected from the country, and deposited within these walls, the severest indignation was expressed against the deputies in general, who had been employed in the negociation of the peace, but principally, and above all others, against Philocrates and Demosthenes; because they had not only been concerned in the depuration, but were the first movers and authors of the decree for peace. It happened, at this juncture, that a difference arose between Demosthenes and Philocrates, nearly on the same occasion which you yourselves suspected must produce animosities between them. The ferment which arose from hence, together with the natural distemper of his mind, produced such counsels, as nothing but an abject terror could dictate, together with a malignant jealousy of the advantages which Philocrates derived from his corruption. He concluded, that by inveighing against his colleagues, and against Philip, Philocrates must inevitably fall; that the other deputies must be in danger; that he himself must gain reputation; and, notwithstanding his baseness and treachery to his

friends, he must acquire the character of a consummate patriot. The enemies of our tranquillity perceived his designs; they at once invited him to the gallery, and extolled him as the only man who disdained to betray the public interest for a bribe. The moment he appeared, he kindled up the flame of war and confusion. He it was, Athenians, who first found out the Serrian fort, and Doriskum, and Ergiske, and Murgiske, and Ganos, and Ganides, places whose very names were hitherto utterly unknown; and such was his power in perverting and perplexing, that, if Philip declined to send his ministers to Athens, he represented it as a contemptuous insult on the state; if he did send them, they were spies, and not ministers; if he inclined to submit his disputes with us to some impartial mediating state, no equal umpire could be found, he said, between us and Philip. This prince gave us up the Halonesus. But he insisted that we should not receive it, unless it was declared, not that he *resigned*, but *restored*: thus cavilling about syllables. And, to crown all his conduct, by paying public honours to those who had carried their arms into Thessaly and Magnesia, under the command of Aristodemus, in direct violation of the treaty, he dissolved the peace, and prepared the way for calamity and war.

Yes, but by the alliance of the Eubœans and the Thebans, did he (for thus he boasts) surround our city with walls of brass and adamant. But the truth is, Athenians, that in these transactions he committed no less than three most enormous offences, of which you are utterly uninformed. Although I am impatient to come to that grand article, the alliance of the Thebans, yet, for the sake of order, I must begin with that of the Eubœans.

You, my countrymen! had received many and great injuries from Mnesarchus the Chalcidian, the father of Callias and Taurosthenes (the man whom he hath now presumed, for the sake of a wretched bribe, to enroll among the citizens of Athens) and also from Themisan the Eretrian, who, in time of profound peace, wrested Oropus from you. Yet you consented to bury all this in oblivion; and, when the Thebans had invaded Eubœa, in order to enslave the cities, within five days, you appeared in their defence, with a powerful arma-

ment; and, before thirty days had yet elapsed, you obliged the Thebans to capitulate, and to evacuate the island. Thus absolute masters of Eubœa, you reinstated its cities and communities in all their privileges; you generously and equitably relied on their faith, and thought it highly unjust to retain the memory of ancient animosities, when they implicitly resigned themselves to your honour. Yet to these important obligations the people of Chalcis did by no means make the due returns. On the contrary, when you had passed into Eubœa, to assist Plutarch, at first indeed you were received with all the appearances of friendship; but when once we had advanced beyond Tamynas, and passed the eminence named Cotylæum, Callias, now perceiving that we had encamped in a dangerous situation, from whence it was impossible to disengage ourselves but by a victory, and where we could receive no reinforcement either by sea or land; this Callias, I say, on whom Demosthenes, having received his bribes, so freely lavishes his applause, collected an army from all quarters of Eubœa, which he reinforced with a detachment sent in by Philip: while his brother Taurosthenes, he who so graciously salutes and smiles upon every citizen, brought down his band of mercenaries from Phocis, and both advanced with a firm purpose to destroy us. And, had not some deity graciously interposed to save our army, and had not all our forces, both infantry and cavalry, performed extraordinary acts of valour at the Hippodrome of Tamynas, and after a complete victory obliged the enemy to lay down their arms, the state must have been exposed to a defeat the most disgraceful. For a defeat is not of itself the greatest of calamities: but, when that defeat is the consequence of an engagement with dishonourable enemies, then the calamity is doubled.

Yet, notwithstanding this treatment, you were again reconciled to these people. And Callias, now restored to your favour, preserved appearances for a little time, but soon returned with extraordinary violence to his natural dispositions. His pretence was, to form a convention of the Eubœan states at Chalcis; his real design, to fortify the island against us, and to secure to himself a sovereignty of peculiar importance. And, hoping to prevail on Philip to assist him in this design,

he went over to Macedon; was constantly in Philip's train, and came to be regarded as one of those who are styled his companions. But, having forfeited this prince's favour by his offences, he was obliged to fly; and, having rendered himself obnoxious at Thebes, he retired from that city also; and thus his course of conduct, more uncertain and variable than the Euripus that flows by his native habitation, involved him in the resentment both of the Thebans and of Philip. In the midst of his confusion and perplexity, when an army was actually preparing to march against him, he saw but one resource left, and this was to prevail on the Athenians, by acknowledging him as their confederate, to enter into solemn engagements to defend him, if attacked by any enemy: and it was evident he must be attacked, unless you were to prevent it. Possessed with this design, he sent hither his deputies, Glaucetes, Empedon, and Diodorus, so distinguished in the race,¹ who came, with airy hopes, for the people, but with money for Demosthenes and his associates. And three material points there were, for all of which he then bargained; first, that he should not be disappointed of our alliance; for if the Athenians were to remember his former offences, and to reject him as a confederate, he had but one melancholy alternative, either to fly from Chalcis, or to suffer himself to be taken and put to death: with such formidable powers were both Philip and the Thebans now preparing to surround him. In the second place, the manager and mover of this alliance was to contrive (and for this gold was liberally bestowed) that the Chalcidians should not be obliged to attend the convention held at Athens. The third point was, that they should be excused from paying their contributions. Nor was Callicias defeated in any one of these schemes. No. This Demosthenes, this foe to tyrants, as he calls himself, this man

¹ Whatever air of ridicule the speaker affects to throw upon this accomplishment, the foot-race, it is well known, held a distinguished rank among the athletic exercises of Greece. The common course was a stadium, or 625 feet. Sometimes the racers returned back again, performing what was called the *double course*. But the "runner in the long race" (as Diodorus is here styled) was the man who could continue his career for twelve stadia or more.

whom Ctesipnon declares a faithful minister, betrayed the most critical interests of the state, and by his decree obliged us to take up arms, on every occasion, in defence of the Chalcidians. This was the purport, though not the formal style of the decree: to secure his point in the most delicate and least offensive manner, he artfully changed a single phrase, and ordained that the Chalcidians should take up arms, if on any occasion the Athenians should be attacked. But as to the acknowledgement of our superiority in the general convention, as to obliging the confederates to pay their subsidies, the great support of war; these articles he entirely gave up: he who disguises the basest actions by the most honourable names: whose importunity obliged you to declare, that you were resolved to send assistance to any of the Greeks that needed it: but that you must suspend all further engagements of alliance; which should be formed only with those whose good offices you at first had experienced. To prove the truth of my assertions, I produce the instrument of Callias, the treaty of alliance, and the decree.

The Decree is here read.

Nor is it his most heinous offence, that he hath sold our interests, our rights of precedency, and our subsidies; what I have now to produce must be acknowledged still more enormous. For to such a pitch of insolence and extravagance did Callias proceed, and to such sordid corruption did Demosthenes descend, he whom Ctesiphon hath thus applauded, that they contrived, in your presence, in your view, in the midst of your attention, to defraud you of the contributions from Oreum, and of those from Eretria, to the amount of ten talents. And, when the representatives of these states had appeared in Athens, they sent them back to Chalcis, to assist in what was called the convention of Eubœa. By what means, and by what iniquitous practices, they effected this, will deserve your serious regard.

I am then to inform you, that Callias was now no longer satisfied to negotiate with us by his emissaries: he appeared in person: he rose up and addressed himself to the assembly, in a speech concerted by Demosthenes. He told us, that he

was just arrived from Peloponnesus, where he had been lately employed in settling the subsidies which each city was to pay, in order to support a war against Philip; the whole amounting to an hundred talents. He distinguished the sums to be paid by each state. The contributions of all the Achæans and Megaræans he rated at sixty, those of the cities of Eubœa at forty talents, a sum, as he observed, sufficient to maintain a formidable armament, both by sea and land. Many other Grecian states were ready to join in this supply, so that there would be no deficiency either in money or in forces. These were the effects of his public negotiations: but he had besides carried on some secret transactions which were not to be explained: of these some of our own citizens were witnesses: and then he called on Demosthenes by name, and required him to confirm this by his testimony. With a face of gravity and importance, Demosthenes then arose; bestowed the most extravagant applause on Callias; and pretended to be well acquainted with his secret transactions. He declared himself ready to report the success of his own embassy to Peloponnesus, and of that to Acarnania. The sum of all was this, that, by his means, the whole body of the Peloponnesians, and all the Acarnanians were ready to march against Philip: that the amount of their several contributions would be sufficient to complete an armament of one hundred ships of war, ten thousand infantry, and one thousand horse: that to these were to be added the domestic forces of each state; from Peloponnesus more than two thousand heavy-armed foot, and from Acarnania the same number; that all these states had freely resigned the chief command to you; and that their preparations were not fixed to some distant time, but were to be completed by the 16th of the month Anthesterion, as, by his direction and appointment, the states were to hold their convention at Athens, at the time of full moon. For in these cases the man acts a distinguished and peculiar part. Other boasters, when they advance their falsehoods, are careful to express themselves in vague and obscure terms, from a just dread of being detected. But Demosthenes, when he would obtrude his impostures, first adds an oath to his lie, and imprecates all the vengeance of heaven on his own head. And

then, if he is to assure us of events, which he knows will never be, he has the hardness to assign their particular times; if to persuade us that he has negotiated with those he never saw, he enters into a distinct detail of their names; thus insinuating himself into your confidence, and imitating the natural and explicit manner of those who speak truth: so that he is doubly an object of detestation, as he is base and false, and as he would confound all the marks of truth and honesty.

When he had finished, he presented a decree to the secretary, longer than the Iliad, more frivolous than the speeches which he usually delivers, or than the life which he hath led; filled with hopes never to be gratified, and with armaments never to be raised. And while he diverted your attention from his fraud, while he kept you in suspense by his flattering assurances, he seized the favourable moment to make his grand attack, and moved, that ambassadors should be sent to Eretria, who should entreat the Eretrians (because such entreaties were mighty necessary) not to send their contribution of five talents to Athens, but to entrust it to Callias: again he ordained, that ambassadors should be appointed to repair to Oreum, and to prevail on that state to unite with Athens in strict confederacy. And now it appeared, that through this whole transaction he had been influenced by a traitorous motive: for these ambassadors were directed to solicit the people of Oreum also, to pay their five talents, not to you, but to Callias. To prove the truth of this, read the decree,—not all the pompous preamble, the magnificent account of navies, the parade and ostentation; but confine yourself to the point of fraud and circumvention, which were practised with too much success by this impious and abandoned wretch, whom the decree of Ctesiphon declares to have persevered, through the course of all his public conduct, in an inviolable attachment to the state.

The Decree is here read.

Here is a grand account of ships and of levies, of the full moon, and of conventions. Thus were you amused by words; while, in fact, you lost the contributions of your allies, you were defrauded of ten talents.

It remains that I inform you of the real motive which prompted Demosthenes to procure this decree; and that was a bribe of three talents; one received from Chalcis by the hands of Callias; another from Eretria by Clitarchus the sovereign of this state; the third paid by Oreum: by which means the stipulation was discovered; for, as Oreum is a free state, all things are there transacted by a public decree. And as the people of this city had been quite exhausted in the war with Philip, and reduced to the utmost indigence, they sent over Gnosidemus, who had once been their sovereign, to entreat Demosthenes to remit the talent; promising on this condition to honour him with a statue of bronze, to be erected in their city. He answered their deputy, that he had not the least occasion for their paltry brass; that he insisted on his stipulation; which Callias should prosecute. The people of Oreum, thus pressed by their creditor, and not prepared to satisfy him, mortgaged their public revenues to Demosthenes for this talent, and paid him interest at the rate of one drachma a month,¹ for each mina, until they were enabled to discharge the principal. And, to prove this, I produce the decree of the Oreitans. Read—

The Decree is here read.

Here is a decree, Athenians, scandalous to our country. It is no small indication of the general conduct of Demosthenes, and it is an evidence of the most flagrant kind, which must condemn Ctesiphon at once. For it is not possible, that he who hath descended to such sordid bribery, can be that man of consummate virtue, which Ctesiphon hath presumed to represent him in his decree.

And now I proceed to the third of these periods; which was indeed the fatal period, distinguished by the calamities in which Demosthenes involved all Greece as well as his own city, by his impious profanation of the Delphian temple, and by the iniquitous and oppressive treaty in which he engaged us with the Thebans. But first I must speak of his offences towards the gods.

¹ About twelve per cent. per ann.

There is a plain, Athenians, well known by the name of Cyrra, and a port, now called the *devoted* and *accursed*. This tract the Cyrrhæans and Acragallidæ inhabited, a lawless people, whose sacriligious violence profaned the shrine of Delphi and the offerings there deposited, and who presumed to rebel against the Amphictyonic council. The Amphictyons in general, and your ancestors in particular, (as tradition hath informed us) conceived the justest resentment, and addressed themselves to the oracle, in order to be informed by what punishment they might suppress these outrages. The priestess pronounced her answer, that they were to wage perpetual war against the Cyrrhæans and Acragallidæ, without the least intermission, either by day or night; that they were to lay waste their lands, and to reduce their persons to slavery; that their possessions were to be set apart from all worldly purposes. and dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, to Diana, to Latona, and to Minerva; and that they were not to cultivate their lands, nor to suffer them to be cultivated. In consequence of this oracle, the Amphictyons decreed, and Solon the Athenian was the first mover of this decree (the man so eminent for making laws, and so conversant in the arts of poesy and philosophy) that they should take up arms against these impious men, in obedience to the divine commands of the oracle. A sufficient force being accordingly raised by the Amphictyons, they reduced these men to slavery, demolished their harbour, razed their city, and consecrated their district, as the oracle directed. And, to confirm these proceedings, they bound themselves by an oath, that they would never cultivate this consecrated land, nor suffer others to cultivate it; but that they would support the rights of the god, and defend this district thus consecrated, with their persons and all their power. Nor were they contented to bind themselves by an oath conceived in the usual form; they enforced it by the addition of a most tremendous imprecation. Thus it was expressed: "If any shall violate this engagement, whether city or private person, or community, may such violaters be devoted to the vengeance of Apollo, of Diana, of Latona, and of Minerva: may their lands never yield their fruits; may their women never bring forth children of the human form, but hideous monsters; may their herds be

accursed with unnatural barrenness; may all their attempts in war, all their transactions in peace, be ever unsuccessful! may total ruin for ever pursue them, their families, and their descendants! and may they never (these are the very terms) appease the offended deities, either Apollo, or Diana, or Latona, or Minerva: but may all their sacrifices be for ever rejected!" To confirm the truth of this, let the oracle be read: listen to the imprecations, and recal to mind the oath by which your ancestors were engaged, in conjunction with the other Amphictyons.

The Oracle.

Still shall these tow'rs their ancient pride maintain;
Nor force nor valour, e'er, that rampart gain;
'Till Amphitritè, queen of azure waves,
The hallow'd lands of sovereign Phœbus laves;
'Till, round his seat, her threat'ning surges roar,
And burst tumult'ous on the sacred shore.

The Oath is here recited.

The Imprecation is here pronounced.

Yet, notwithstanding these imprecations, notwithstanding the solemn oath, and the oracle, which, to this day, remain upon record, did the Locrians and the Amphisæans, or, to speak more properly, their magistrates, lawless and abandoned men, once more cultivate this district, restore the devoted and accursed harbour, erect buildings there, exact taxes from all ships that put into this harbour, and, by their bribes, corrupt some of the pylagoræ who had been sent to Delphi, of which number Demosthenes was one. For, being chosen into this office, he received a thousand drachmæ from the Amphisæans, to take no notice of their transactions, in the Amphictyonic council. And it was stipulated still further, that, for the time to come, they should pay him at Athens an annual sum of twenty minæ, out of their accursed and devoted revenues; for which he was to use his utmost efforts, on every occasion, to support the interest of the Amphisæans in this city. A transaction which served but to give still further evidence to this melancholy truth, that, whenever he hath

formed connections with any people, any private persons, any sovereign magistrates, or any free communities, he hath never failed to involve them in calamities the most deplorable. For, now, behold how heaven and fortune asserted their superior power against this impiety of the Amphissæans!

In the archonship of Theophrastus, when Diognetus was iëromnemon, you chose, for pylagoræ, Midias, (that man who, on many accounts, I wish were still alive,) and Thrasycles; and with these was I joined in commission. On our arrival at Delphi, it happened, that the iëromnemon, Diognetus, was instantly seized with a fever, and that Midias also shared the same misfortune. The other Amphictyons assembled: when some persons, who wished to approve themselves the zealous friends of this state, informed us, that the Amphissæans, now exposed to the power of the Thebans, and studious to pay them the most servile adulation, had introduced a decree against this city, by which a fine of fifty talents was to be imposed on the community of Athens, because we had deposited some golden shields in the new temple, before it had been completely finished, which bore the following and a very just inscription:

BY THE ATHENIANS: TAKEN FROM THE MEDES AND THEBANS, WHEN THEY FOUGHT AGAINST THE GREEKS.

The iëromnemon sent for me, and desired that I should repair to the Amphictyons, and speak in defence of the city, which I had myself determined to do. But, scarcely had I begun to speak, on my first appearance in the assembly, (where I rose with some warmth, as the absence of the other deputies increased my solicitude,) when I was interrupted by the clamours of an Amphissæan, a man of outrageous insolence, who seemed a total stranger to politeness, and was perhaps driven to this extravagance by some evil genius. He began thus:—"Ye Greeks, were ye possessed with the least degree of wisdom, ye would not suffer the name of the Athenians to be mentioned at this time; ye would drive them from the temple, as the objects of divine wrath." He then proceeded to take notice of our alliance with the Phocians, which the decree of Crobylus had formed, and loaded the state with many other

odious imputations, which I then could not hear with temper, and which I cannot now recollect but with pain. His speech inflamed me to a degree of passion, greater than I had ever felt through my whole life. Among other particulars, on which I shall not now enlarge, it occurred to me to take notice of the impiety of the Amphissæans, with respect to the consecrated land, which I pointed out to the Amphictyons from the place where I then stood, as the temple rose above the Cirrhæan plain, and commanded the whole prospect of that district. "You see, (said I,) ye Amphictyons, how this tract hath been occupied by the people of Amphissa: you see the houses and factories they have there erected. Your own eyes are witnesses, that this accursed and devoted harbour is completely furnished with buildings. You yourselves know, and need not any testimony, that they have exacted duties, and raised large sums of wealth from this harbour." I then produced the oracle, the oath of our ancestors, and the imprecation by which it was confirmed; and made a solemn declaration that, "for the people of Athens, for myself, for my children, and for my family, I would support the rights of the god, and maintain the consecrated land, with all my might and power; and thus rescue my country from the guilt of sacrilege. Do you, ye Greeks," thus did I proceed, "determine for yourselves as ye judge proper. Your sacred rites are now prepared; your victims stand before the altars; you are ready to offer up your solemn prayers for blessings on yourselves and on your countries;—but, O! consider, with what voice, with what front, with what confidence, can you breathe out your petitions, if ye suffer these sacrilegious men, thus devoted and accursed, to escape with impunity. The imprecation is not conceived in dark or doubtful terms. No: the curse extends not only to these impious profaners, but to all those who suffer their profanation to pass unrevenge. These are the very words with which the awful and affecting form is closed: May they, who permit them to escape unpunished, never offer up an acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, or to Diana, or to Latona, or to Minerva; but may all their devotions be rejected and abhorred."

When I had urged these and many other particulars, I

retired from the assembly: when a considerable clamour and tumult arose among the Amphictyons, and the debate was now no longer about the shields which we had dedicated, but about the punishment due to the Amphissæans. Thus was a considerable part of that day wasted, when at length a herald arose and made proclamation, That all the inhabitants of Delphi, above the age of sixteen, both slaves and freemen, should the next morning, by sun-rise, assemble in the adjoining plain, called *the plain of victims*, with spades and mattocks; and by another proclamation it was ordained, that the representatives of the several states should repair to the same place to support the rights of the god, and the consecrated land; and that, if any representatives should disobey this summons, their state was to be excluded from the temple, as sharing in the sacrilege, and involved in the imprecation. The next day we accordingly repaired to the place appointed, from whence we went down to the Cyrrhæan plain; and, having there demolished the harbour, and set fire to the buildings, we retired. During these transactions, the Locrians of Amphissa, who are settled at the distance of sixty stadia from Delphi, assembled in arms, and fell upon us with their whole force; and, had we not with difficulty gained the town, by a precipitate flight, we must have been in danger of total destruction. On the succeeding day, Cattyphus, who acted as president of the council, summoned a *convention* of the Amphictyons; so they call an assembly formed not only of the representatives, but of all who came to offer sacrifice, or consult the oracle. In this convention, many accusations were urged against the Amphissæans, and much applause bestowed on our state. The whole debate was closed with a resolution, by which the iëromnemons were directed to repair to Thermopylæ, at a time appointed, previously to the next ordinary assembly, with a decree prepared for inflicting the due punishment on the Amphissæans, for their sacrilegious offences against the god, and the consecrated land, and for their outrage on the Amphictyons. To prove the truth of this, I produce the resolution itself.

The Resolution is here read.

And when at our return we reported this resolution, first in the senate, and then in the assembly of the people; when we had made a full relation of all our transactions to the people, and the whole state determined to act agreeably to the dictates of piety; when Demosthenes, from his private connexions with Amphissa, laboured to defeat this purpose, and his iniquitous practices were by me clearly detected, in your presence; when he found it impossible to defeat the interests of his country, by a public opposition, he had recourse to secret management in the senate. There, having first taken care to exclude all private citizens, he gained a resolution (by taking advantage of his inexperience who moved it) which he produced to the popular assembly; and this resolution he contrived to be confirmed by the voices of the people, and to be made their decree, at a time when the assembly was actually adjourned, when I was absent, (else I never should have suffered it) and when the people were dismissed from their attendance. The purport of the resolution was this: "That the iëromnemon and pylagoræ who should at any time be deputed by the Athenians to execute these offices, should repair to Thermopylæ and to Delphi, at the times appointed by our ancestors."—This was speciously expressed, but it concealed the basest purpose, which was, to prevent our duputies from attending the extraordinary council at Thermopylæ, necessary to be held before the next stated day of assembly.

But there was another clause in this resolution, still plainer and more virulent. It directed, that the iëromnemon and pylagoræ, who should, at any time, be appointed by the Athenians, were to have no sort of intercourse with this extraordinary council either in word, or deed or decree, or any transaction whatever. "To have no sort of intercourse." What is the intent of this? Shall I declare the truth, or shall I speak to please you? The truth by all means: for, by consulting only your gratification, in all that is here delivered, hath the state been reduced to its present condition. The real purpose, therefore, of this clause is, that we should renounce all regard to the oath by which our ancestors were engaged; to the awful imprecation, and to the oracles of the god.

Agreeably to this resolution, we staid at home, while all the other deputies assembled at Thermopylæ, except those of one people, whose name I cannot bear to mention; (and never may any Grecian state suffer calamities in the least like theirs!) In this assembly, it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphissæans; and Cattyphus the Pharsalian, who then presided in the assembly, was appointed general. Nor was Philip, at this time, in Macedon, no, nor in any part of Greece, but removed as far as Scythia; he who, Demosthenes presumes to say, was by me brought down upon the Greeks. In the first expedition, when the Amphissæans were at their mercy, they treated them with the utmost moderation; and, for their most heinous offences, they only imposed a fine, which was to be paid to the god by a time appointed; removed the most notoriously criminal, and principal authors of the sacrilege; and restored those who had been banished on account of their scrupulous regard to religion. But, when this fine was not discharged; when the principal offenders were recalled home; and the innocent and religious men, whom the Amphictyons had restored, were once more expelled; then was the second expedition made against the Amphissæans, a considerable time after, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian expedition. And now, when the gods presented you with the sovereign command in this holy war, by the corruption of Demosthenes were you deprived of that honour.

And, did not the gods warn us of our danger? did they not urge the necessity of vigilance, in a language scarcely less explicit than that of man? Surely, never was a state more evidently protected by the gods, and more notoriously ruined by its popular leaders. Were we not sufficiently alarmed by that portentous incident in the mysteries, the sudden death of the initiated? Did not Amyniades still further warn us of our danger, and urge us to send deputies to Delphi to consult the god? And did not Demosthenes oppose this design? Did he not say, the Pythian priestess was inspired by Philip,¹ rude

¹ Demosthenes expressed this by an artificial phrase, (the priestess *PHILIPPIZED*,) on which the adversary founds his charge of rudeness and brutality.

and brutal as he is, insolently presuming on that full power to which your favour raised him? And did he not at last, without one propitious sacrifice, one favourable omen to assure us of success, send out our armies to manifest and inevitable danger? Yet, he lately presumed to say, that Philip did not venture to march into our territories, for this very reason, because his sacrifices had not been propitious. What punishment, therefore, is due to thy offences, thou pest of Greece? If the conqueror was prevented from invading the territories of the vanquished by unpropitious sacrifices, shouldst thou who, without the least attention to futurity, without one favourable omen, hast sent our armies to the field, shouldst thou be honoured with a crown for those calamities, in which thou hast involved the state, or driven from our borders with ignominy?

And, what can be conceived surprising or extraordinary, that we have not experienced? Our lives have not passed in the usual and natural course of human affairs; no, we were born to be an object of astonishment to posterity. Do we not see the king of Persia, he who opened a passage for his navy through mount Athos, who stretched his bridge across the Hellespont, who demanded earth and water from the Greeks; he who, in his letters, presumed to stile himself sovereign of mankind, from the rising to the setting sun; now no longer contending to be lord over others, but to secure his personal safety? Do not we see those crowned with honour, and ennobled with the command of the war against Persia, who rescued the Delphian temple from sacrilegious hands? Hath not Thebes, our neighbouring state, been in one day torn from the midst of Greece? And, although this calamity may justly be imputed to her own pernicious councils, yet we are not to ascribe such infatuation to any natural causes, but to the fatal influence of some evil genius. Are not the Lacedæmonians, those wretched men, who had but once slightly interfered in the sacrilegious outrage on the temple, who, in their day of power, aspired to the sovereignty of Greece, now reduced to display their wretchedness to the world, by sending hostages to Alexander, ready to submit to that fate, which he shall pronounce upon themselves and on their country; to those

terms which a conqueror, and an incensed conqueror, shall vouchsafe to grant? And, is not this our state the common refuge of the Greeks, once the great resort of all the ambassadors from the several cities, sent to implore our protection, as their sure resource, now obliged to contend, not for sovereign authority, but for our native land? And, to these circumstances have we been gradually reduced, from that time when Demosthenes first assumed the administration. Well doth the poet Hesiod pronounce on such men, in one part of his works, where he points out the duty of citizens, and warns all societies to guard effectually against evil ministers. I shall repeat his words; for I presume we treasured up the sayings of poets in our memory when young, that, in our riper years, we might apply them to advantage.

When one man's crimes the wrath of Heav'n provoke,
Oft hath a nation felt the fatal stroke.
Contagion's blast destroys, at Jove's command,
And wasteful famine desolates the land.
Or, in the field of war, her boasted pow'rs,
Are lost; and earth receives her prostrate tow'rs.
In vain in gorgeous state her navies ride;
Dash'd, wreck'd, and bury'd in the boist'rous tide.

Take away the measure of these verses, consider only the sentiment, and you will fancy that you hear, not some part of Hesiod, but a prophecy of the administration of Demosthenes: for true it is, that both fleets and armies, and whole cities, have been completely destroyed by his administration: and, in my opinion, neither Phryrondas, nor Eurybatus, nor any of those most distinguished by their villanies in former times, have been equal to this man in the arts of imposture and deceit: this man, who (hear it O earth, hear it all ye gods, and all of human race who have the least regard to truth!) dares to meet the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and shamelessly assert, that the Thebans were induced to the confederacy with us, not by the conjuncture of their affairs, not by the terror which possessed them, nor yet by our reputation; but by the negociations of Demosthenes. True it is, that before this time we sent many ambassadors to Thebes, all of them united with

that state in the strictest connections. First, we sent our general Thrasybulus, a man highest above all others in the confidence of the Thebans: after him, Thraso, on whom the Thebans conferred the honours of hospitality: then again, Leodamas, nothing inferior to Demosthenes in the powers of eloquence, and in my opinion a much more pleasing speaker: Archidemus, another powerful speaker, whose attachment to Thebes had exposed him to considerable danger: Aristophon, the popular leader, who had long incurred the censure of being in his heart a Bœotian. Add to these, Pyrandrus, the public speaker, who is yet alive. And yet not one of these was ever able to prevail on them to unite in alliance with our state. I know the cause: but I must not insult their calamities.—The truth is, (as I conceive) that when Philip had wrested Nicæa from them, and delivered it to the Thessalians; when he had transferred the war from Phocis to the very walls of Thebes, that war which he had before repelled from the territories of Bœotia; and when, to crown all, he had seized, and fortified, and fixed his garrison in Elataea, then did their fears of approaching ruin force them to apply to Athens: and then did you march out and appear at Thebes, with all your power, both of infantry and cavalry, before Demosthenes had ever proposed one syllable about an alliance. For it was the times, the present terror, and the necessity of uniting with you, which then brought you to Thebes; not Demosthenes.

And let it be observed, that in these his negotiations he committed three capital offences against the state. In the first place, when Philip made war on us, only in name, but in reality pointed all his resentment against Thebes (as appears sufficiently from the event, and needs not any further evidence) he insidiously concealed this, of which it so highly concerned us to be informed; and pretending that the alliance now proposed was not the effect of the present conjuncture, but of his negotiations, he first prevailed on the people not to debate about conditions, but to be satisfied that the alliance was formed on any terms; and, having secured this point, he gave up all Bœotia to the power of Thebes, by inserting this clause in the decree, that, if any city should revolt from the Thebans, the Athenians would grant their assistance to such of the

Bœotians only as should be resident in Thebes : thus concealing his fraudulent designs in specious terms, and betraying us into his real purposes, according to his usual practice : as if the Bœotians, who had really laboured under the most grievous oppression, were to be fully satisfied with the fine periods of Demosthenes, and to forget all resentment of the wrongs which they had suffered.—Then, as to the expences of the war, two thirds of these he imposed on us who were the farthest removed from danger, and one third only on the Thebans ; for which, as well as all his other measures, he was amply bribed. And, with respect to the command, that of the fleet he indeed divided between us ; the expence he imposed entirely on Athens, and that of the land forces (if I am to speak seriously, I must insist upon it) he absolutely transferred to the Thebans : so that, during this whole war, our general Stratocles had not so much authority as might enable him to provide for the security of his soldiers. And here I do not urge offences too trivial for the regard of other men. No. I speak them freely ; all mankind condemns them ; and you yourselves are conscious of them ; yet will not be roused to resentment. For so completely hath Demosthenes habituated you to his offences, that you now hear them without emotion or surprise. But this should not be : they should excite your inmost indignation, and meet their just punishment, if you would preserve those remains of fortune which are still left to Athens.

A second and a much more grievous offence did he commit, in clandestinely taking away all authority of our senate, all the jurisdiction of our popular assembly, and transferring them from Athens to the citadel of Thebes, by virtue of that clause which gave the magistrates of Bœotia a share in all councils and transactions. And such an uncontrouled power did he assume, that he rose publicly in the assembly, and declared that he would go as ambassador, whither he himself thought proper, although not authorised by your commission ; and, if any of the generals should attempt to controul him, he declared (as a warning to our magistrates to acknowledge his sovereign power, and as a means of accustoming them to implicit submission) that he would *commence a suit for establishing the pre-eminence of the speaker's gallery over*

the general's pavilion; for that the state had derived more advantages from him, in this gallery, than ever it had gained from the generals, in their pavilions. Then, by his false musters in the contract for the foreign troops, he was enabled to secrete large sums of the money destined to the military service. And by hiring 10,000 of these troops of the Amphissæans, in spite of all my remonstrances, all my earnest solicitations in the assembly, he involved the state in the most perilous difficulties, at a time when the loss of these foreign troops had left us unprepared to encounter dangers. What think you was at this time the object of Philip's most ardent wishes? Was it not that he might attack our domestic forces, separately, and our foreign troops at Amphissa, separately, and thus take advantage of the general despair into which the Greeks must sink, at such an important blow? And now Demosthenes, the great author of these evils, is not contented that he escapes from justice, but, if he be denied the honour of a crown, expresses the highest indignation; nor is he satisfied that this crown should be proclaimed in your presence; but, unless all Greece be made witness of his honours, he complains of the grievous injury. And thus we find, that, when a disposition naturally base, hath obtained any considerable share of power, it never fails to work the ruin of a state.

I am now to speak of a third offence, and this still more heinous than the others. Philip by no means despised the Greeks; was by no means ignorant (for he was not devoid of all sense) that by a general engagement he must set his whole power to the hazard of a day; he was well inclined to treat about an accommodation, and was on the point of sending deputies for this purpose, while the Theban magistrates, on their parts, were alarmed at the approaching danger, with good reason. For it was not a dastardly speaker, who fled from his post in battle, that presented it to their thoughts, but the Phocian war, that dreadful contest of ten years, which taught them a lesson never to be forgotten. Such was the state of his affairs, and Demosthenes perceived it; he suspected that the Bœotian chiefs were on the point of making a separate peace, and would receive Philip's gold without admitting him to a share; and deeming it worse than death, to be thus

excluded from any scheme of corruption, he started up in the assembly, before any man had declared his opinion, that a peace should, or should not, be concluded with Philip, but with an intent of warning the Bœotian chiefs, by a kind of public proclamation, that they were to allow him his portion of their bribes; he swore by Minerva (whom it seems Phidias made for the use of Demosthenes, in his vile trade of fraud and perjury) that, if any man should utter one word of making peace with Philip, he himself, with his own hands, would drag him by the hair to prison; imitating in this the conduct of Cleophon, who in the war with Lacedæmon, as we are informed, brought destruction upon the state.¹ But when the magistrates of Thebes paid him no attention, but on the contrary, had countermanded their troops when on their march, and proposed to you to consult about a peace, then was he absolutely frantic; he rose up in the assembly; he called the Bœotian chiefs traitors to Greece; and declared that he himself would move (he who never dared to meet the face of an enemy) that you should send ambassadors to the Thebans, to demand a passage through their territory, for your forces, in their march against Philip. And thus through shame, and fearing that they might really be thought to have betrayed Greece, were the magistrates of Thebes diverted from all thoughts of peace, and hurried at once to the field of battle.

And here let us recal to mind those gallant men, whom he forced out to manifest destruction, without one sacred rite happily performed, one propitious omen to assure them of success; and yet, when they had fallen in battle, presumed to ascend their monument with those coward feet that fled from their post, and pronounced his encomiums on their merit. But

¹ After the battle of Cyzicum, the Spartans offered to conclude a peace with Athens. Their ambassador proposed fair and equitable terms; and the moderate part of the state inclined to an accommodation. But the violent and factious leaders, among whom this Cleophon was distinguished, inflamed the people's vanity by a magnificent display of their late success, (as if fortune, saith Diodorus, had, contrary to her usual course, determined to confine her favours to one party.) And thus the majority were prevailed upon to declare for war. And the event proved fatal.

O thou, who, on every occasion of great and important action, hast proved of all mankind the most worthless, in the insolence of language, the most astonishing, canst thou attempt, in the face of these thy fellow-citizens, to claim the honour of a crown, for the misfortunes in which thou hast plunged thy city? Or, should he claim it, can you restrain your indignation, and hath the memory of your slaughtered countrymen perished with them? Indulge me for a moment, and imagine that you are now not in this tribunal, but in the theatre; imagine that you see the herald approaching, and the proclamation prescribed in this decree, on the point of being delivered; and then consider, whether will the friends of the deceased shed more tears at the tragedies, at the pathetic stories of the great characters to be presented on the stage; or at the insensibility of their country? What inhabitant of Greece, what human creature, who hath imbibed the least share of liberal sentiments, must not feel the deepest sorrow, when he reflects on one transaction which he must have seen in the theatre; when he remembers, if he remembers nothing else, that on festivals like these, when the tragedies were to be presented, in those times when the state was well governed, and directed by faithful ministers; a herald appeared, and introducing those orphans whose fathers had died in battle, now arrived at maturity, and dressed in complete armour, made a proclamation the most noble, and the most effectual to excite the mind to glorious actions: "That these youths, whose fathers lost their lives in fighting bravely for their country, the people had maintained to this their age of maturity. That now, having furnished them with complete suits of armour, they dismiss them (with prayers for their prosperity) to attend to their respective affairs; and invite them to aspire to the highest offices of the state."

Such were the proclamations in old times. But such are not now heard. And, were the herald to introduce the person who had made these children orphans, what could he say, or what could he proclaim? Should he speak in the form prescribed in this decree, yet the odious truth would still force itself upon you, it would seem to strike your ears with a language different from that of the herald. It would tell you,

that "the Athenian people crowned this man, who scarcely deserves the name of a man, on account of his virtue, though a wretch the most abandoned; and on account of his magnanimity, though a coward and deserted of his post." Do not, Athenians, I conjure you by all the powers of heaven, do not erect a trophy in your theatre, to perpetuate your own disgrace: do not expose the weak conduct of your country, in the presence of the Greeks: do not recal all their grievous and desperate misfortunes to the minds of the wretched Thebans; who, when driven from their habitations by this man, were received within these walls: whose temples, whose children, whose sepulchral monuments were destroyed by the corruption of Demosthenes, and the Macedonian gold.

Since you were not personal spectators of their calamities, represent them to your imaginations; think that you behold their city stormed, their walls levelled with the ground, their houses in flames, their wives and children dragged to slavery, their hoary citizens, their antient matrons, unlearning liberty in their old age, pouring out their tears, and crying to you for pity; expressing their resentment, not against the instruments, but the real authors of their calamities; importuning you by no means to grant a crown to this pest of Greece, but rather to guard against that curse, that fatal genius which evermore pursues him. For never did any state, never did any private persons, conduct their affairs to an happy issue, that were guided by the counsels of Demosthenes. And is it not shameful, my countrymen, that, in the case of those mariners who transport men over to Salamis, it should be enacted by a law, that whoever shall overset his vessel in this passage, even inadvertently, shall never be again admitted to the same employment, (so that no one may be suffered to expose the persons of the Greeks to careless hazard) and yet, that this man, who hath quite overset all Greece, as well as this state, should be still intrusted with the helm of government?

That I may now speak of the fourth period, and thus proceed to the present times, I must recal one particular to your thoughts: that Demosthenes not only deserted from his post in battle, but fled from his duty in the city, under the pretence of employing some of our ships in collecting con-

tributions from the Greeks. But when, contrary to expectation, the public dangers seemed to vanish, he again returned. At first he appeared a timorous and dejected creature; he rose in the assembly, scarcely half alive, and desired to be appointed a commissioner for settling and establishing the treaty. But, during the first progress of these transactions, you did not even allow the name of Demosthenes to be subscribed to your decrees, but appointed Nausicles your principal agent.—Yet now he has the presumption to demand a crown.—When Philip died, and Alexander succeeded to the kingdom, then did he once more practise his impostures. He raised altars to Pausanias, and loaded the senate with the odium of offering sacrifices and public thanksgivings upon this occasion. He called Alexander a MARGITES,¹ and had the presumption to assert that he would never stir from Macedon; for that he would be satisfied with parading through his capital, and there tearing up his victims in search of happy omens. And this, said he, I declare, not from conjecture, but from a clear conviction of this great truth that glory is not to be purchased but by blood: the wretch! whose veins have no blood: who judged of Alexander, not from the temper of Alexander, but from his own dastardly soul.

But when the Thessalians had taken up arms against us, and the young prince at first expressed the warmest resentment, and not without reason; when an army had actually invested Thebes, then was he chosen our ambassador; but, when he had proceeded as far as Cithæron, he turned and ran back to Athens. Thus hath he proved equally worthless, both in peace and in war. But, what is most provoking, you refused

¹ A Margites, *i.e.*, a contemptible idiot, a name derived from a story ascribed to Homer, of a foolish character by this name. See volume two, page 346. Immediately after the death of Philip, saith Plutarch, the states began to form a confederacy, at the instigation of Demosthenes. The Thebans, whom he supplied with arms, attacked the Macedonian garrison, and cut off numbers of them. The Athenians prepared to join with Thebes. Their assemblies were directed solely by Demosthenes, who sent dispatches to the king's lieutenants in Asia, to prevail upon them to rise against Alexander, whom he called a Boy, and a MARGITES.

to give him up to justice; nor would you suffer him to be tried in the general council of the Greeks. And, if that be true which is reported, he hath now repaid your indulgence by an act of direct treason. For the mariners of the Paralian galley, and the ambassadors sent to Alexander, report (and with great appearance of truth) that there is one Aristion, a Platæan, the son of Aristobulus the apothecary, (if any of you know the man.) This youth, who was distinguished by the beauty of his person, lived a long time in the house of Demosthenes. How he was there employed, or to what purposes he served, is a matter of doubt, and which it might not be decent to explain particularly. And, as I am informed, he afterwards contrived (as his birth and course of life was a secret to the world) to insinuate himself into the favour of Alexander, with whom he lived with some intimacy. This man Demosthenes employed to deliver letters to Alexander, which served in some sort to dispel his fears, and affected his reconciliation with the prince; which he laboured to confirm by the most abandoned flattery.

And now observe how this account agrees with the facts which I allege against him. For if Demosthenes had been sincere in his professions; had he really been that mortal foe to Alexander; there were three most fortunate occasions for an opposition, not one of which he appears to have improved. The first was, when this prince had but just ascended the throne; and, before his own affairs were duly settled, passed over into Asia; when the king of Persia was in the height of all his power, amply furnished with ships, with money, and with forces, and extremely desirous of admitting us to his alliance, on account of the danger which then threatened his dominions. Did you, then, utter one word, Demosthenes? Did you rise up to move for any one resolution? Am I to impute your silence to terror; to the influence of your natural timidity? But the interests of the state cannot wait the timidity of a public speaker. Again, when Darius had taken the field with all his forces, when Alexander was shut up in the defiles of Cilicia and, as you pretended, destitute of all necessaries; when he was upon the point of being trampled down by the Persian cavalry, (this was your language) when your insolence was

insupportable to the whole city; when you marched about in state with your letters in your hands, pointing me out to your creatures as a trembling and desponding wretch, calling me the *gilded victim*, and declaring that I was to be crowned for sacrifice, if any accident should happen to Alexander; still were you totally inactive; still you reserved yourself for some fairer occasion.—But to pass over all these things, and to come to late transactions. The Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with their foreign troops, had gained a victory, and cut to pieces the Macedonian forces near Corragus; the Eleans had gone over to their party, and all the Achæans, except the people of Pellene; all Arcadia also, except the *great city*; and this was besieged, and every day expected to be taken; Alexander was at a distance farther than the pole; almost beyond the limits of the habitable world; Antipater had been long employed in collecting his forces; and the event was utterly uncertain. In this juncture, say, Demosthenes, what were your actions? what were your speeches? If you please, I will come down, and give you an opportunity of informing us. But you are silent. Well, then, I will shew some tenderness to your hesitation, and I myself will tell the assembly how you then spoke. And do you not remember his strange and monstrous expressions? Which you (O astonishing insensibility!) could endure to hear. He rose up and cried, Some men are *pruning* the city; they are *lopping* the *tendrils* of the state; they *cut through the sinews* of our affairs: we are *packed up* and *matted*; they *thread* us *like needles*.—Thou abandoned wretch! What language is this? Is it natural or monstrous?—Again, you writhed and twisted your body round in the gallery; and cried out, as if you really exerted all your zeal against Alexander, “I confess that I prevailed on the Lacedæmonian to revolt; that I brought over the Thessalians and Perribæans.” Influence the Thessalians! Could you influence a single village, you who in time of danger never venture to stir from the city: no; not from your own house? Indeed, where any money is to be obtained, there you are ever ready to seize your prey; but utterly incapable of any action worthy of a man. If fortune favours us with some instance of success, then, indeed, he assumes the merit to

himself; he ascribes it to his own address; if some danger alarms us, he flies; if our fears are quieted, he demands rewards, he expects golden crowns.

"But all this is granted. Yet he is a zealous friend to our free constitution." If you consider only his fair and plausible discourses, you may be deceived in this, as you have been in other instances. But look into his real nature and character, and you cannot be deceived. Hence it is that you are to form your judgment. And here I shall recount the several particulars necessary to form the character of a faithful citizen, and an useful friend to liberty. On the other hand, I shall describe the man who is likely to prove a bad member of society, and a favourer of the arbitrary power of a few. Do you apply these two descriptions to him, and consider not what he alleges, but what he really is.

I presume, then, it must be universally acknowledged, that these are the characteristics of a friend to our free constitution. First, he must be of a liberal descent, both by father and mother, lest the misfortune of his birth should inspire him with a prejudice against the laws, which secure our freedom. Secondly, he must be descended from such ancestors as have done service to the people, at least, from such as have not lived in enmity with them: this is indispensably necessary, lest he should be prompted to do the state some injury, in order to revenge the quarrel of his ancestors. Thirdly, he must be discreet and temperate in his course of life, lest a luxurious dissipation of his fortune might tempt him to receive a bribe in order to betray his country. Fourthly, he must have integrity united with a powerful elocution: for it is the perfection of a statesman to possess that goodness of mind, which may ever direct him to the most salutary measures, together with a skill and power of speaking, which may effectually recommend them to his hearers. Yet, of the two, integrity is to be preferred to eloquence. Fifthly, he must have a manly spirit, that in war and danger he may not desert his country. It may be sufficient to say, without further repetition, that a friend to the arbitrary power of a few is distinguished by the characteristics directly opposite to these.

And now consider which of them agree to Demosthenes.

Let us state the account with the most scrupulous regard to justice. This man's father was Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, a citizen of repute, (for I shall adhere strictly to truth.) But how he stands as to family, with respect to his mother and her father, I must now explain. There was once in Athens a man called Gylon; who by betraying Nymphæum in Pontus to the enemy, a city then possessed by us, was obliged to fly from his country in order to escape the sentence of death denounced against him; and settled on the Bosphorus, where he obtained, from the neighbouring princes, a tract of land called *the Gardens*; and married a woman, who indeed brought him a considerable fortune, but was by birth a Scythian. By her he had two daughters, whom he sent hither with a great quantity of wealth; one of them he settled, I shall not mention with whom,¹ that I may not provoke the resentment of too many; the other, Demosthenes the Pæanian married in defiance of our laws, and from her is the present Demosthenes sprung; our turbulent and malicious informer. So that by his grandfather, in the female line, he is an enemy to the state, for this grandfather was condemned to death by your ancestors. And by his mother he is a Scythian, one who assumes the language of Greece, but whose abandoned principles betray his barbarous descent.

And what hath been his course of life?—He first assumed the office of a trierarch: and, having exhausted his paternal fortune by this ridiculous vanity, he descended to the profession of an hired advocate: but having lost all credit in this employment, by betraying the secrets of his clients to their antagonists, he forced his way into the gallery, and appeared a popular speaker. When those vast sums, of which he had defrauded the public, were just dissipated, a sudden tide of Persian gold poured into his exhausted coffers; nor was all this sufficient; for no fund whatever can prove sufficient for

¹ The name, which Æschines suppresses from motives of policy, Demosthenes hath himself discovered in his oration against Aphobus. Where he declares that his mother was daughter to this Gylon, and that her sister married DEMOCHARES. This passage must have escaped Plutarch: as he expresses a doubt whether the account here given of the family of Demosthenes be true or false.

the profligate and corrupt. In a word, he supported himself, not by a fortune of his own, but by your perils. But how doth he appear with respect to integrity, and force of elocution? Powerful in speaking; abandoned in his manners. Of such unnatural depravity in his sensual gratifications, that I cannot describe his practices; I cannot offend that delicacy to which such shocking descriptions are always odious. And how hath he served the public? His speeches have been plausible; his actions traitorous.

As to his courage, I need say but little on that head. Did he himself deny that he is a coward? were you not sensible of it, I should think it necessary to detain you by a formal course of evidence. But as he hath publicly confessed it in our assemblies, and as you have been witnesses of it, it remains only that I remind you of the laws enacted against such crimes. It was the determination of Solon, our old legislator, that he who evaded his duty in the field, or left his post in battle, should be subject to the same penalties with the man directly convicted of cowardice. For there are laws enacted against cowardice. It may perhaps seem wonderful, that the law should take cognizance of a natural infirmity. But such is the fact. And why? That every one of us may dread the punishment denounced by law, more than the enemy; and thus prove the better soldier in the cause of his country. The man, then, who declines the service of the field, the coward, and he who leaves his post in battle, are, by our lawgiver, excluded from all share in public deliberations, rendered incapable of receiving the honour of a crown, and denied admission to the religious rites performed by the public.¹ But you direct us to crown a person, whom the laws declare to be incapable of receiving a crown; and by your decree you introduce a man into the theatre, who is disqualified from ap-

¹ The original expression imports *from the lustral vessels of our public place of assembling*. These vessels of hallowed water were placed at the entrance of their temples, and the avenues of their forum, for the same purpose to which they are at this day applied in Popish churches. And it was a part of the religious ceremonies performed in their public assemblies, previously to all deliberation, to sprinkle the place, and the people, from those vessels.

pearing there; you call him into a place sacred to Bacchus, who by his cowardice hath betrayed all our sacred places.—But, that I may not divert you from the great point, remember this. When Demosthenes tells you that he is a friend to liberty, examine not his speeches, but his actions; and consider, not what he professes to be, but what he really is.

And, now that I have mentioned crowns and public honours, while it yet rests upon my mind, let me recommend this precaution. It must be your part, Athenians, to put an end to this frequency of public honours, these precipitate grants of crowns; else, they who obtain them will owe you no acknowledgement, nor shall the state receive the least advantage: for you never can make bad men better; and those of real merit must be cast into the utmost dejection. Of this truth, I shall convince you by the most powerful arguments. Suppose a man should ask, At what time this state supported the most illustrious reputation, in the present days, or in those of our ancestors? With one voice you would reply, "In the days of our ancestors." At what time did our citizens display the greatest merit? Then, or now? They were then eminent; now, much less distinguished. At what time were rewards, crowns, proclamations, and public honours of every kind most frequent? Then, or now? Then they were rare, and truly valuable; then the name of merit bore the highest lustre: but now, it is tarnished and effaced; while your honours are conferred by course and custom, not with judgment and distinction.

It may possibly seem unaccountable, that rewards are now more frequent, yet that public affairs were then more flourishing; that our citizens are now less worthy, but were then of real eminence. This is a difficulty which I shall endeavour to obviate. Do you imagine, Athenians, that any man whatever would engage in the games held on our festivals, or in any others, where the victors receive a crown, in the exercises of wrestling, or in any of the several athletic contests, if the crown was to be conferred, not on the most worthy, but on the man of greatest interest? Surely no man would engage. But now, as the reward of such their victory is rare, hardly to be obtained, truly honourable, and never to be for-

gotten; there are champions found, ready to submit to the severest preparatory discipline, and to encounter all the dangers of the contest. Imagine, then, that political merit is a kind of game, which you are appointed to direct; and consider that, if you grant the prizes to a few, and those the most worthy, and on such conditions as the laws prescribe, you will have many champions in this contest of merit. But, if you gratify any man that pleases, or those who can secure the strongest interest, you will be the means of corrupting the very best natural dispositions.

That you may conceive the force of what I here advance, I must explain myself still more clearly.—Which, think ye, was the more worthy citizen; Themistocles, who commanded your fleet, when you defeated the Persian in the sea-fight at Salamis; or this Demosthenes, who deserted from his post? Miltiades, who conquered the barbarians at Marathon, or this man? The chiefs who led back the people from Phylè?¹ Aristides, surnamed the Just, a title quite different from that of Demosthenes?—No; by the powers of heaven, I deem the names of these heroes too noble to be mentioned in the same day with that of this savage. And let Demosthenes shew, when he comes to his reply, if ever a decree was made for granting a golden crown to them. Was then the state ungrateful? No: but she thought highly of her own dignity. And these citizens, who were not thus honoured, appear to have been truly worthy of such a state; for they imagined that they were not to be honoured by public records, but by the memories of those they had obliged; and their honours have there remained, from that time down to this day, in characters indelible and immortal. There were citizens in those days, who, being stationed at the river Strymon, there patiently endured a long series of toils and dangers, and, at length, gained a victory over the Medes. At their return, they petitioned the people for a reward; and a reward was conferred upon them, (then deemed of great importance,) by erecting

¹ *i.e.* when Thrasybulus had expelled the thirty tyrants, established by the Lacedæmonians in Athens, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.

three Mercuries of stone in the usual portico, on which, however, their names were not inscribed, lest this might seem a monument erected to the honour of the commanders, not to that of the people. For the truth of this, I appeal to the inscriptions.

That on the first statue was expressed thus:

Great souls! who fought near Strymon's rapid tide;
And brav'd th' invader's arm, and quell'd his pride.
Eion's high tow'rs confess'd the glorious deed:
And saw dire famine waste the vanquish'd MEDE.
Such was our vengeance on the barb'rous host;
And such the gen'rous toils our heroes boast.

This was the inscription on the second:

This, the reward which grateful Athens gives!
Here, still the patriot and the hero lives!
Here, let the rising age with rapture gaze,
And emulate the glorious deeds they praise.

On the third was the inscription thus:

Menestheus, hence, led forth his chosen train,
And pour'd the war o'er hapless Ilion's plain.
'Twas his, (so speaks the bard's immortal lay,)
To form th' embody'd host in firm array.
Such were our sons!—Nor yet shall ATHENS yield
The first bright honours of the sanguine field.
Still, nurse of heroes! still the praise is thine,
Of ev'ry glorious toil, of ev'ry act divine.

In these do we find the name of the general? No; but that of the people. Fancy yourselves transported to the grand portico; for, in this your place of assembling, the monuments of all great actions are erected full in view. There we find a picture of the battle of Marathon. Who was the general in this battle? To this question you would all answer, Miltiades. And yet his name is not inscribed. How? Did he not petition for such an honour? He did petition: but the people refused to grant it. Instead of inscribing his name, they consented that he should be drawn in the foreground, encouraging his soldiers. In like manner, in the temple of the great

mother, adjoining to the senate-house, you may see the honours paid to those who brought our exiles back from Phyle. The decree for these honours was solicited and obtained by Archines, one of those whom they restored to the citizens. And this decree directs first, that a thousand drachmæ shall be given to them, for sacrifices and offerings; a sum which allowed not quite ten drachmæ to each. In the next place, it ordains, that each shall be crowned with a wreath of olive, not of gold. For crowns of olive were then deemed highly honourable; now, those of gold are regarded with contempt. Nor was even this to be granted precipitately, but after an exact previous examination, by the senate, into the numbers of those who had maintained their post at Phyle, when the Lacedæmonians and the thirty had marched to attack them, not of those who had fled from their post at Chæroneæ, on the first appearance of an enemy. And for the truth of this let the decree be read.

The Decree for Honouring those who had been at Phylè is here read.

Compare this with the decree proposed by Ctesiphon in favour of Demosthenes, the author of our most grievous calamities.—Read

The Decree of Ctesiphon.

By this decree are the honours granted to those who restored our exiles utterly effaced. If to confer the one was laudable, to grant the other must be scandalous. If they were worthy of their public honours, he must be utterly unworthy of this crown.—But it is his purpose to allege (as I am informed) that I proceed without candour or justice, in comparing his actions with those of our ancestors. In the Olympic games, saith he, Philamon is not crowned because he hath excelled Glaucus the ancient wrestler, but because he hath conquered his own antagonists. As if you did not know that, in these games, the contest is between the immediate combatants; but, where political merit is to be honoured, the contest is with merit itself; nor can the herald at all deviate from truth, when he is to make proclamation in the presence

of the Greeks. Do not then pretend to say you have served the state better than Patæcion; prove that you have attained to true and perfect excellence; and then demand honours from the people. But, that I may not lead you too far from the subject, let the secretary read the inscription in honour of those who brought back the people from Phyle.

THE INSCRIPTION

These wreaths ATHENIAN gratitude bestows
On the brave chiefs, who first, for freedom, rose,
Drove the proud TYRANTS from their lawless state,
And bade the rescu'd land again be great.

That they had overturned a government repugnant to the laws: this is the very reason here assigned for their public honours. For such was the universal reverence for the laws, at that time, that men's ears were perpetually ringing with this maxim, that, by defeating impeachments against illegal practices, our constitution was instantly subverted. So have I been informed by my father, who died at the age of ninety-five, after sharing all the distresses of his country. Such were the principles he repeatedly inculcated, in his hours of disengagement. By him have I been assured that, at the time when our freedom was just restored, the man who stood arraigned for any violation of the laws received the punishment due to his offence, without respite or mercy. And what offence can be conceived more impious than an infringement of the laws either by word or action?—At that time, said he, such causes were not heard in the same manner as at present. The judges exerted more severity against those who stood impeached, than even the prosecutor. It was then usual for them to interrupt the secretary, to oblige him again to read the laws, and to compare them with the decree impeached: and to pronounce their sentence of condemnation, not on those only who had been convicted of violating the whole tenor of the laws, but even on those who had deviated from them, in one single particle. But the present course of procedure is even ridiculous. The officer reads the indictment; but, as if it was an idle song, or some trivial matter of no concernment to them, the judges turn their attention

to some other subject. And thus, seduced by the wiles of Demosthenes, you have admitted a shameful practice into your tribunals; and public justice is perverted: the prosecutor is obliged to appear as the defendant; while the person accused commences prosecutor: the judges sometimes forget the points to which their right of judicature extends, and are forced to give sentence on matters not fairly cognizable on their tribunals; and, if the impeached party ever deigns to enter on his defence, his plea is, not that he is innocent of the charge, but that some other person, equally guilty, hath on some former occasion been suffered to escape. And on this plea Ctesiphon relies with greatest confidence, as I am informed.

Your citizen Aristophon once dared to boast that fifty-five times had he been prosecuted for illegal decrees, and as many times had he escaped. Not so Cephælus, our old minister, he whom he deemed the most zealously attached to the constitution. He, on the contrary, accounted it his greatest glory, that, although he had proposed more decrees than any other citizen, yet had he been not once obliged to defend himself against an impeachment. And this was really matter of triumph; for, in his days, prosecutions were commenced, not by the partizans of opposite factions against each other, but by friends against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. To produce an instance of this. Archimedes commenced a prosecution against Thrasybulus, on account of a decree for crowning one of those who had returned from Phylæ, which, in some circumstances, was repugnant to the laws: and, notwithstanding his late important services, sentence was pronounced against him. These were not at all regarded by the judges. It was their principle, that, as Thrasybulus had once restored our exiles, so he in effect drove his fellow-citizens into exile, by proposing any one act repugnant to the laws. But now we have quite different sentiments. Now our generals of character, our citizens whose services have been rewarded by public maintenance,¹ exert

¹ In the original, *some of those who have their table in the Prytæneum*. The greatest honour which a citizen could receive for his

their interest to suppress impeachments; and in this they must be deemed guilty of the utmost ingratitude. For the man who hath been honoured by the state, a state which owes its being only to the gods and to the laws, and yet presumes to support those who violate the laws, in effect subverts that government by which his honours were conferred.

Here then I shall explain, how far a citizen may honestly and regularly proceed in pleading for an offender.—When an impeachment for illegal practices is to be tried in the tribunal, the day of hearing is divided into three parts; the first part is assigned to the prosecutor, to the laws, and to the constitution; the second is granted to the accused, and to his assistants. If then sentence of acquittal be not passed, on the first question, a third portion is assigned for the consideration of the fine, and for adjusting the degree of your resentment. He then who petitions for your vote, when the fine is to be considered, petitions only against the rigour of your resentment. But he who petitions for your vote upon the first question, petitions you to give up your oath, to give up the law, to give up the constitution: a favour which it is impious to ask, which, if asked, it is impious to grant. Tell these interceders then, that they are to leave you at full liberty to decide the first question agreeably to the laws: let them reserve their eloquence for the question relative to the fine.

Upon the whole, Athenians, I am almost tempted to declare, that a law should be enacted solely respecting impeachments for illegal proceedings; that neither the prosecutor, nor the accused, should ever be allowed the assistance of advocates: for the merits of such causes are not vague and undetermined. No; they are accurately defined by your laws. As in architecture, when we would be assured whether any part stand upright or no, we apply the rule by which it is ascertained; so in these impeachments we have a rule provided in the record of the prosecution, in the decree impeached, and in the laws with which it is compared. Shew, then, in the present case, that these last are consonant to each other, and

public services. Such persons then had a natural authority and influence in public assemblies.

that you are at once acquitted. What need you call upon Demosthenes? But if you evade the equitable method of defence, and call to your assistance a man practised in craft, in all the wiles of speaking, you then abuse the attention of your judges, you injure the state, you subvert the constitution.

It must be my part effectually to guard you against such evasion. When Ctesiphon rises up, and begins with repeating the fine introduction composed for him: when he winds through his solemn periods, without ever coming to the great point of his defence; then remind him calmly and quietly to take up the record of his impeachment, and compare his decree with the laws. Should he pretend not to hear you, do you too refuse to hear him: for you are here convened to attend, not to those who would evade the just methods of defence, but to the men who defend their cause fairly and regularly. And should he still decline the legal and equitable defence, and call on Demosthenes to plead for him, my first request is, that you would not at all admit an insidious advocate, who thinks to subvert the laws by his harangues: that, when Ctesiphon asks whether he shall call Demosthenes, no man should esteem it meritorious to be the first to cry, "call him, call him." If you call him, against yourselves you call him, against the laws you call him, against the constitution you call him. Or, if you resolve to hear him, I then request that Demosthenes may be confined to the same method in his defence, which I have pursued in this my charge. And what method have I pursued? That I may assist your memories, observe, that I have not begun with the private life of Demosthenes; that I have not introduced my prosecution with a detail of misdemeanors in his public conduct; although I could not want various and numberless instances to urge, unless I were totally inexperienced in affairs. Instead of this, I first produced the laws, which directly forbid any man to be crowned, whose accounts are not yet passed: I then proved that Ctesiphon had proposed a decree for granting a crown to Demosthenes, while his accounts yet remained to be passed; without any qualifying clause, or any such addition, as, "WHEN HIS ACCOUNTS SHALL FIRST HAVE BEEN APPROVED:" but in open and avowed contempt of you and of the laws. I men-

tioned also the pretences to be alleged for this procedure, and then recited the laws relative to proclamations, in which it is directly enacted, that no crown shall be proclaimed in any other place but in the assembly only. So that the defendant has not only proposed a decree repugnant in general to the laws, but has transgressed in the circumstances of time and place, by directing the proclamation to be made not in the assembly, but in the theatre; not when the people were convened, but when the tragedies were to be presented. From these points I proceeded to take some notice of his private life: but chiefly I insist upon his public offences.

It is your part to oblige Demosthenes to the same method in his defence. First, let him speak of the laws relative to magistrates yet accountable to the public; then of those which regard proclamations; and, thirdly, which is the point of greatest moment, let him prove, that he is worthy of this honour. And, should he supplicate to be allowed his own method, and should he promise to conclude his defence with obviating the charge of illegality, grant him not this indulgence; know that, in this, he means to engage in a trial of skill with his tribunal. It is not his intention to return at any time to this great point; but, as it is a point he can by no means obviate by any equitable plea, he would divert your attention to other matters, that so you may forget the grand article of this impeachment. But, as, in athletic contests, you see the wrestlers struggling with each other for the advantage of situation, so, in this contest for the state, and for the method of his pleading, exert the most incessant and obstinate efforts. Suffer him not to wander from the great article of *illegality*; confine him, watch him, drive him to the point in question; and be strictly guarded against the evasive windings of his harangue.

Should you decline this strict and regular examination of the cause, it is but just that I warn you of the consequences. The impeached party will produce that vile impostor, that robber, that plunderer of the public. He can weep with greater ease than others laugh; and, for perjury, is of all mankind the most ready. Nor shall I be surprised, if he should suddenly change his wailings to the most virulent abuse of those who attend the trial: if he should declare, that

the notorious favourers of oligarchal power are, to a man ranged on the side of the accuser, and that the friends of liberty appear as friends to the defendant. But, should he thus allege, his seditious insolence may be at once confounded by the following reply: "If those citizens, who brought back the people from their exile in Phylè, had been like you, Demosthenes, our free constitution had never been established: but they, when the most dreadful calamities were impending, saved the state by pronouncing one single word, AN AMNESTY: (that noble word, the genuine dictate of wisdom,) while you tear open the wounds of your country, and discover more solicitude for the composition of your harangues than for the interest of the state."

When this perjured man comes to demand credit to his oaths, remind him of this, that he who hath frequently sworn falsely, and yet expects to be believed upon his oath, should be favoured by one of these two circumstances, of which Demosthenes finds neither: his gods must be new, or his auditors different. As to his tears, as to his passionate exertions of voice, when he cries out, "Whither shall I fly, ye men of Athens? You banish me from the city, and, alas! I have no place of refuge:" let this be your reply: "And, where shall the people find refuge? What provision of allies? What treasures are prepared? What resources hath your administration secured? We all see what precautions you have taken for your own security: you who have left the city, not, as you pretend, to take up your residence in the Piræus, but to seize the first favourable moment of flying from your country: you who, to quiet all your dastardly fears, have ample provisions secured in the gold of Persia, and all the bribes of your administration."—But, after all, why these tears? Why these exclamations? Why this vehemence? Is it not Ctesiphon who stands impeached? And, in a cause where judges are at liberty to moderate his punishment. You are not engaged in any suit, by which either your fortune, or your person, or your reputation, may be affected. For what then doth he express all this solicitude? for golden crowns; for proclamations in the theatre, expressly forbidden by the law. The man, who, if the people could be so infatuated, if

they could have so completely lost all memory, as to grant him any such honour, at a season so improper, should rise in the assembly, and say, "Ye men of Athens, I accept the crown, but approve not of the time appointed for the proclamation. While the city wears the habit of a mourner, let not me be crowned for the causes of her sorrow." This would be the language of a truly virtuous man: you speak the sentiments of an accursed wretch, the malignant enemy of all goodness. And, let no man conceive the least fear; (no, by Hercules, it is not to be feared!) that this Demosthenes, this generous spirit, this distinguished hero in war, if disappointed of these honours, shall retire and dispatch himself. He, who holds your esteem in such sovereign contempt, that he hath a thousand times gashed that accursed head, that head which yet stands accountable to the state, which this man hath proposed to crown in defiance of all law. He, who hath made a trade of such practices, by commencing suits for wounds inflicted by himself; who is so completely battered, that the fury of Midias still remains imprinted on his head:—head did I call it? No, it is his estate.

With respect to Ctesiphon, the author of this decree, let me but mention some few particulars. I pass over many things that might be urged, proposedly to try, whether you can of yourselves, and without direction, mark out the men of consummate iniquity. I then confine myself to such points as equally affect them both, and may be urged with equal justice against the one and the other. They go round the public places, each possessed with the justest notions of his associate, and each declaring truths which cannot be denied. Ctesiphon says, that for himself he has no fears: he hopes to be considered as a man of weakness and inexperience: but that his fears are all for corruption of Demosthenes, his timidity and cowardice. Demosthenes, on the other hand, declares, That with respect to himself he hath full confidence, but that he feels the utmost apprehensions from the iniquity of Ctesiphon, and his abandoned debauchery. When these, therefore, pronounce each other guilty, do you, their common judges, by no means suffer their offences to escape unpunished.

As to the calumnies with which I am attacked, I would

prevent their effect by a few observations. I am informed that Demosthenes is to urge, that the state hath received services from him, but in many instances hath been injured by me: the transactions of Philip, the conduct of Alexander, all the crimes by them committed, he means to impute to me. And so much doth he rely upon his powerful abilities in the art of speaking, that he does not confine his accusations to any point of administration, in which I may have been concerned; to any counsels, which I may have publicly suggested: he traduces the retired part of my life, he imputes my silence as a crime. And, that no one topic may escape his officious malice, he extends his accusations even to my conduct, when associated with my young companions in our schools of exercise. The very introduction of his defence is to contain a heavy censure of this suit. I have commenced the prosecution, he will say, not to serve the state, but to display my zeal to Alexander, and to gratify the resentment of this prince against him. And (if I am truly informed) he means to ask why I now condemn the whole of his administration, although I never opposed, never impeached, any one part of it separately; and why, after a long course of time, in which I scarcely ever was engaged in public business, I now return to conduct this prosecution?

I, on my part, am by no means inclined to emulate that course of conduct which Demosthenes hath pursued: nor am I ashamed of mine own. Whatever speeches I have made, I do not wish them unsaid; nor, had I spoken like Demosthenes, could I support my being. My silence, Demosthenes, hath been occasioned by my life of temperance. I am contented with a little: nor do I desire any accession which must be purchased by iniquity. My silence, therefore, and my speaking, are the result of reason, not extorted by the demands of inordinate passions. But you are silent, when you have received your bribe; when you have spent it, you exclaim. And you speak, not at such times as you think fittest, not your own sentiments; but whenever you are ordered, and whatever is dictated by those masters whose pay you receive. So that, without the least sense of shame, you boldly assert what in a moment after is proved to be absolutely false. This

impeachment, for instance, which is intended not to serve the state, but to display my officious zeal to Alexander, was actually commenced while Philip was yet alive, before ever Alexander had ascended the throne, before you had seen the vision about Pausanias, and before you had held your nocturnal interviews with Minerva and Juno. How then could I have displayed my zeal to Alexander, unless we had all seen the same visions with Demosthenes?

You object to me that I speak in public assemblies, not regularly, but after intervals of retirement. And you imagine it a secret that this objection is founded on a maxim, not of democratical, but of a different form of government. For in oligarchies it is not any man who pleases, but the man of most power, that appears as prosecutor: in democracies, every man that pleases, and when he pleases. To speak only on particular occasions is a proof that a man engages in public affairs, as such occasions, and as the interests of the public require: to speak from day to day shews, that he makes a trade, and labours for the profit, of such an occupation. As to the objection, that you have never yet been prosecuted by me, never brought to justice for your offences; when you fly for refuge to such evasions, surely you must suppose that this audience hath lost all memory, or you must have contrived to deceive yourself. Your impious conduct with respect to the Amphisæans, your corrupt practices in the affairs of Eubœa;—some time hath now elapsed, since I publicly convicted you of these, and therefore you may perhaps flatter yourself that it is forgotten. But what time can possibly erase from our memory, that, when you had introduced a resolution for the equipment of three hundred ships of war, when you had prevailed on the city to entrust you with the direction of this armament, I evidently proved your fraud, in depriving us of sixty-five ships of this number: by which the state lost a greater naval force than that which gained the victory of Naxos over the Lacedæmonians and their general Pollis? Yet so effectual were your artful recriminations to secure you against justice, that the danger fell, not on you, the true delinquent, but on the prosecutors. To this purpose served your perpetual clamours against Alexander and Philip; for this,

you inveighed against men who embarrassed the affairs of government. You, who on every fair occasion have defeated our present interests, and, for the future, amused us with promises. In that my last attempt to bring an impeachment against you, did you not recur to the contrivance of seizing Anaxilus the citizen of Oreum, the man who was engaged in some commercial transactions with Olympias? Did not your own hand inflict the torture upon him, and your own decree condemn him to suffer death? And this was he, under whose roof you had been received; at whose table you eat and drank, and poured out your libations; whose right hand you clasped in your's; and whom you pronounced your friend and host. This very man you slew; and when all these points were fully proved by me, in presence of the whole city; when I called you murderer of your host, you never attempted to deny your impiety: no; you made an answer that raised a shout of indignation from the people and all the strangers in the assembly. You said that you esteemed the salt of Athens more than the tables of foreigners.¹

I pass over the counterfeited letters, the seizing of spies, the tortures for fictitious crimes, all to load me with the odium of uniting with a faction, to introduce innovations in the state. Yet still he means to ask me, as I am informed, what would be thought of that physician, who, while the patient laboured under his disorder, never should propose the least advice, but when he had expired should attend his funeral, and there enlarge upon those methods, which, if pursued, would have restored his health. But you do not ask yourself what must be thought of such a minister as could amuse his countrymen with flattery, while he betrayed their interests at such junctures as might have been improved to their security; while his clamours prevented their true friends from speaking in their

¹ Salt and tables were symbols of friendship, familiarity, and affection. So that this declaration imported no more than, that any connections he had formed abroad were not to interfere with his duty and attachment to the state. A declaration which might well be justified. But his hearers either suspected his sincerity, or were violently transported by that habitual horror which they entertained of every violation of the rights of hospitality.

cause; who should basely fly from danger, involve the state in calamities the most desperate, yet demand the honour of a crown for his merit, though author of no one public service, but the cause of all our misfortunes; who should insult those men, whom his malicious prosecutions silenced in those times when we might have been preserved, by asking why they did not oppose his misconduct? If this still remains to be answered, they may observe, that, at the time of the fatal battle, we had no leisure for considering the punishment due to your offences; we were entirely engaged in negotiations, to avert the ruin of the state. But after this, when you, not contented with escaping from justice, dared to demand honours; when you attempted to render your country ridiculous to Greece; then did I arise, and commence this prosecution.

But, O ye gods! how can I restrain my indignation at one thing, which Demosthenes means to urge, (as I have been told) and which I shall here explain? He compares me to the Sirens, whose purpose is not to delight their hearers, but to destroy them. Even so, if we are to believe him, my abilities in speaking, whether acquired by exercise, or given by nature, all tend to the detriment of those who grant me their attention. I am bold to say, that no man hath a right to urge an allegation of this nature against me; for it is shameful in an accuser not to be able to establish his assertions with full proof. But, if such must be urged, surely it should not come from Demosthenes; it should be the observation of some military man, who had done important services, but was unskilled in speech; who repined at the abilities of his antagonist, conscious that he could not display his own actions, and sensible that his accuser had the art of persuading his audience to impute such actions to him as he never had committed. But when a man composed entirely of words, and these the bitterest and most pompously laboured; when he recurs to simplicity, to artless facts, who can endure it? He who is but an instrument, take away his tongue, and he is nothing.

I am utterly at a loss to conceive, and would gladly be informed, Athenians, upon what grounds you can possibly give sentence for the defendant. Can it be because this decree is not illegal? No public act was ever more repugnant to the

laws. Or because the author of this decree is not a proper object of public justice? All your examinations of men's conduct are no more, if this man be suffered to escape. And is not this lamentable, that formerly your stage was filled with crowns of gold, conferred by the Greeks upon the people, (as the season of our public entertainments was assigned for the honours granted by foreigners); but now, by the ministerial conduct of Demosthenes, you should lose all crowns, all public honours, while he enjoys them in full pomp? Should any of these tragic poets, whose works are to succeed our public proclamations, represent Thersites crowned by the Greeks, no man could endure it, because Homer marks him as a coward and a sycophant; and can you imagine that you yourselves will not be the derision of all Greece, if this man be permitted to receive his crown? In former times, your fathers ascribed every thing glorious and illustrious in the public fortune, to the people; transferred the blame of every thing mean and dishonourable to bad ministers. But, now, Ctesiphon would persuade you to divest Demosthenes of his ignominy, and to cast it on the state. You acknowledge that you are favoured by fortune; and justly, for you are so favoured; and will you now declare by your sentence that fortune hath abandoned you; that Demosthenes hath been your only benefactor? Will you proceed to the last absurdity, and, in the very same tribunals, condemn those to infamy, whom you have detected in corruption; and yet confer a crown on him, whose whole administration you are sensible hath been one series of corruption? In our public spectacles, the judges of our common dancers are at once fined, if they decide unjustly; and will you, who are appointed judges, not of dancing, but of the laws, and of public virtue, confer honours not agreeably to the laws, not on a few, and those most eminent in merit, but on any man who can establish his influence by intrigue? A judge who can descend to this leaves the tribunal, after having reduced himself to a state of weakness, and strengthened the power of an orator. For, in a democratical state, every man hath a sort of kingly power founded on the laws, and on our public acts; but, when he resigns these into the hands of another, he himself subverts his own sovereignty. And then the con-

sciousness of that oath, by which his sentence was to have been directed, pursues him with remorse. In the violation of that oath, consists his great guilt; while the obligation he confers is a secret to the favoured party, as his sentence is given by private ballot.

It appears to me, Athenians, that our imprudent measures have been attended with some degree of lucky fortune, as well as no small danger to the state. For that you, the majority, have, in these times, resigned the whole strength of your free government into the hands of a few, I by no means approve. But that we have not been overwhelmed by a torrent of bold and wicked speakers, is a proof of our good fortune. In former times the state produced such spirits, as found it easy to subvert the government, while they amused their fellow-citizens with flattery. And thus was the constitution destroyed, not by the men we most feared, but by those in whom we most confided. Some of them united publicly with the THIRTY, and put to death more than fifteen hundred of our citizens, without trial; without suffering them to know the crimes for which they were thus condemned; without admitting their relations to pay the common rites of interment to their bodies. Will you not then keep your ministers under your own power? Shall not the men, now so extravagantly elated, be sent away duly humbled? And can it be forgotten, that no man ever hath attempted to destroy our constitution, until he had first made himself superior to our tribunals?

And here, in your presence, would I gladly enter into a discussion with the author of this decree, as to the nature of those services, for which he desires that Demosthenes should be crowned. If you allege, agreeably to the first clause of the decree, that he hath surrounded our walls with an excellent intrenchment; I must declare my surprise. Surely the guilt of having rendered such a work necessary, far outweighs the merits of its execution. It is not he who has strengthened our fortifications, who hath digged our intrenchments, who hath disturbed the tombs of our ancestors,¹ that should demand the

¹ To understand this, it must be observed that Themistocles, who built these walls, of which Demosthenes was charged with the repair,

honours of a patriot minister, but he who hath procured some intrinsic services to the state. If you have recourse to the second clause, where you presume to say that he is a good man, and hath ever persevered in speaking and acting for the interest of the people, strip your decree of its vain-glorious pomp; adhere to facts; and prove what you have asserted. I shall not press you with the instances of his corruption, in the affairs of Amphissa and Eubœa. But, if you attempt to transfer the merit of the Theban alliance to Demosthenes, you but impose on the men who are strangers to affairs, and insult those who are acquainted with them, and see through your falsehood. By suppressing all mention of the urgent juncture, of the illustrious reputation of these our fellow-citizens, the real causes of this alliance, you fancy that you have effectually concealed your fraud, in ascribing a merit to Demosthenes, which really belongs to the state. And now I shall endeavour to explain the greatness of this arrogance, by one striking example. The king of Persia, not long before the descent of Alexander into Asia, dispatched a letter to the state, expressed in all the insolence of a barbarian. His shocking and unmannered licence appeared in every part; but, in the conclusion, particularly, he expressed himself directly, thus: "I will not grant you gold: trouble me not with your demands; they shall not be gratified." And yet this man, when he found himself involved in all his present difficulties, without any demand from Athens, but freely, and of himself, sent thirty talents to the state, which were most judiciously rejected. It was the juncture of affairs, and his terrors, and his pressing want of an alliance, which brought this sum: the very causes which effected the alliance of Thebes. You are ever sounding in our ears the name of Thebes, you are ever teasing us with the repetition of that unfortunate alliance: but not one word is ever suffered to escape, of those

had ordered that the materials should be instantly collected from all places without distinction, public or private, profane or sacred. Thus the speaker had a fair opportunity not only for detracting from the merit of his rival, but for converting it into an heinous crime: no less than that of violating those tombs of their ancestors, which had made part of their fortifications.

seventy talents of Persian gold, which you diverted from the public service into your own coffers. Was it not from the want of money, from the want of only five talents, that the foreign troops refused to give up the citadel to the Thebans? Was it not from the want of nine talents of silver, that, when the Arcadians were drawn out, and all the leaders prepared to march, the whole expedition was defeated? But you are in the midst of affluence, you have treasures to satisfy your sensuality,—and to crown all—while he enjoys the royal wealth, the dangers all devolve on you.

The absurdity of these men well deserves to be considered. Should Ctesiphon presume to call upon Demosthenes to speak before you, and should he rise and lavish his praises upon himself, to hear him would be still more painful than all you have suffered by his conduct. Men of real merit, men of whose numerous and glorious services we are clearly sensible, are not yet endured when they speak their own praises. But when a man, the scandal of his country, sounds his own encomium, who can hear such arrogance with any temper? No, Ctesiphon, if you have sense, avoid so shameless a procedure; make your defence in person. You cannot recur to the pretence of any inability for speaking. It would be absurd, that you, who suffered yourself to be chosen ambassador to Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, in order to present our condolences on the death of Alexander king of the Molossi, should now plead such an inability. If you were capable of consoling a woman of another country, in the midst of her grief; can you decline the defence of a decree for which you are well paid? Or is he to whom you grant this crown, such a man as must be totally unknown, even to those on whom he hath conferred his services, unless you have an advocate to assist you? Ask the judges, whether they know Chabrias, and Iphicrates, and Timotheus. Ask for what reason they made them presents, and raised their statues. With one voice they will instantly reply, that to Chabrias they granted these honours, on account of the sea-fight at Naxos; to Iphicrates, because he cut off the detachment of Lacedæmonians; to Timotheus, on account of his expedition to Corcyra: and to others, as the reward of those many and glorious services which each per-

formed in war. Ask them again, why they refuse the like honours to Demosthenes; they will answer, because he is a corrupted hireling, a coward, and a deserter. Crown him! would this be to confer an honour on Demosthenes? Would it not rather be to disgrace yourselves, and those brave men who fell in battle for their country? Imagine that you see these here, roused to indignation, at the thoughts of granting him a crown. Hard, indeed, would be the case, if we remove speechless and senseless beings from our borders, such as blocks and stones, when by accident they have crushed a citizen to death;¹ if, in the case of self-murder, we bury the hand that committed the deed separate from the rest of the body; and yet that we should confer honours on Demosthenes, on him who was the author of the late expedition, the man who betrayed our citizens to destruction. This would be to insult the dead, and to damp the ardour of the living, when they see that the prize of all their virtue is death, and that their memory must perish.

But to urge the point of greatest moment: should any of your sons demand by what examples they are to form their lives, how would you reply? For you well know that it is not only by bodily exercises, by seminaries of learning, or by instructions in music, that our youth is trained, but much more effectually by public examples. Is it proclaimed in the theatre that a man is honoured with a crown, for his virtue, his magnanimity, and his patriotism, who yet proves to be abandoned and profligate in his life? The youth who sees this is corrupted. Is public justice inflicted on a man of base and scandalous vices like Ctesiphon? This affords excellent instruction to others. Doth the judge, who has given a sentence repugnant to honour and to justice, return home and instruct his son? That son is well warranted to reject his instruction.

¹ Draco the lawgiver had enacted this law for exterminating even such inanimate beings as had occasioned the death of a citizen, in order (as it seems) to inspire a peculiar horror of homicide—the crime most to be guarded against among a people not yet completely civilized. And it may be proper to observe that Solon, who abolished the laws of Draco as too severe, meddled not with those which related to homicide, but left them in full force.

Advice in such a case may well be called impertinence. Not then as judges only, but as guardians of the state, give your voices in such a manner, that you may approve your conduct to those absent citizens who may enquire what hath been the decision. You are not to be informed, Athenians, that the reputation of our country must be such as theirs who receive its honours. And surely it must be scandalous to stand in the same point of view, not with our ancestors, but with the unmanly baseness of Demosthenes.

How then may such infamy be avoided? By guarding against those, who affect the language of patriotism and public spirit, but whose real characters are traitorous. Loyalty and the love of liberty are words that lie ready for every man. And they are more prompt to seize them, whose actions are the most repugnant to such principles. Whenever, therefore, you have found a man solicitous for foreign crowns, and proclamations of honours granted by the Greeks, oblige him to have recourse to that conduct which the law prescribes; to found his pretensions and proclamations on the true basis, the integrity of his life, and the exact regulation of his manners. Should he not produce this evidence of his merit, refuse your sanction to his honours; support the freedom of your constitution which is now falling from you. Can you reflect without indignation, that our senate and our assembly are neglected with contempt, while letters and deputations are sent to private houses, not from inferior personages, but from the highest potentates in Asia and in Europe, and for purposes declared capital by the laws? That there are men, who are at no pains to conceal their part in such transactions; who avow it in the presence of the people; who openly compare the letters; some of whom direct you to turn your eyes on them, as the guardians of their constitution; others demand public honours as the saviours of their country? While the people, reduced by a series of dispiriting events, as it were to a state of dotage, or struck with infatuation, regard only the name of freedom, but resign all real power into the hands of others. So that you retire from the assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment, where each man hath paid his club, and received his share.

That this is a serious truth, let me offer something to convince you. There was a man (it grieves me to dwell so often on the misfortunes of the state) of a private station, who, for the bare attempt of making a voyage to Samos, was, as a traitor to his country, put instantly to death by the council of Areopagus. Another private man, whose timid spirit, unable to support the general consternation, had driven him to Rhodes, was not long since impeached, and escaped only by the equality of voices: had but one vote more been given for his condemnation, banishment or death must have been his fate. To these let us oppose the case now before us. A popular orator, the cause of all our calamities, is found guilty of desertion in the field. This man claims a crown, and asserts his right to the honour of a proclamation. And shall not this wretch, the common pest of Greece, be driven from our borders? Or shall we not seize and drag to execution this public plunderer, whose harangues enable him to steer his pyratrical course through our government? Think on this critical season, in which you are to give your voices. In a few days, the Pythian games are to be celebrated, and the convention of Grecian states to be collected. There shall our state be severely censured, on account of the late measures of Demosthenes. Should you crown him, you must be deemed accessaries to those who violated the general peace. If, on the contrary, you reject the demand, you will clear the state from all imputation. Weigh this clause maturely, as the interest not of a foreign state, but of your own: And do not lavish your honours inconsiderately: confer them with a scrupulous delicacy; and let them be the distinctions of exalted worth and merit. Nor be contented to hear, but look round you, where your own interest is so intimately concerned, and see who are the men that support Demosthenes. Are they his former companions in the chace, his associates in the manly exercises of his youth? No, by the Olympian God; he never was employed in rousing the wild boar, or in any such exercises as render the body vigorous: he was solely engaged in the sordid arts of fraud and circumvention.

And, let not his arrogance escape your attention, when he tells you, that, by his embassy, he wrested Byzantium from

the hands of Philip; that his eloquence prevailed on the Acarnanians to revolt; his eloquence transported the souls of the Thebans. He thinks that you are sunk to such a degree of weakness, that he may prevail on you to believe that you harbour the very genius of persuasion in your city, and not a vile sycophant. And, when, at the conclusion of his defence, he calls up his accomplices in corruption as his advocates, then imagine that we see the great benefactors of your country, in this place from whence I speak, arrayed against the villainy of those men: Solon, the man who adorned our free constitution with the noblest laws, the philosopher, the renowned legislator, intreating you, with that decent gravity which distinguished his character, by no means to pay a greater regard to the speeches of Demosthenes, than to your oaths and laws: Aristides, who was suffered to prescribe to the Greeks their several subsidies, whose daughters received their portions from the people, at his decease; roused to indignation at this insult on public justice, and asking, whether you are not ashamed that, when your fathers banished Arthmius the Zelian, who brought in gold from Persia;¹ when they were scarcely restrained from killing a man connected with the people in the most sacred ties, and, by public proclamation, forbade him to appear in Athens, or in any part of the Athenian territory,—yet you are going to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown, who did not bring in gold from Persia, but received bribes himself, and still possesses them. And, can you imagine but that Themistocles, and those who fell at Marathon, and those who died at Phatæa, and the very sepulchres of our ancestors must groan, if you confer a crown on this man, who confessedly united with the barbarians against the Greeks?

And, now, bear witness for me, Thou Earth, Thou Sun, O Virtue and Intelligence, and thou, O Erudition, which teach-

¹ Arthmius was an agent of the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus, to stir up strife in Sparta against Athens. Themistocles procured the following terrible decree against him; which was inscribed on a brazen column: "LET ARTHMIUS OF ZELIA, THE SON OF PYTHONAX, BE ACCOUNTED INFAMOUS, AND AN ENEMY TO THE ATHENIANS AND THEIR ALLIES, BOTH HE AND ALL HIS RACE, BECAUSE HE BROUGHT GOLD FROM MEDIA INTO PELOPONNESUS,"

est us the just distinction between vice and goodness, I have stood up, I have spoken in the cause of justice. If I have supported my prosecution with a dignity befitting its importance, I have spoken as my wishes dictated; if too deficiently,—as my abilities admitted. Let what hath now been offered, and what your own thoughts must supply, be duly weighed, and pronounce such a sentence as justice and the interests of the state demand.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN

IN the first place, ye men of Athens, I make my prayer to all the powers of heaven, that such affection as I have ever invariably discovered to this state, and all its citizens, you now may entertain for ME, upon this present trial. And, (what concerns you nearly, what essentially concerns your religion and your honour,)—that the gods may so dispose your minds, as to permit me to proceed in my defence, not as directed by my adversary, (that would be severe indeed!) but by the laws, and by your oath, in which, to all the other equitable clauses, we find this expressly added—EACH PARTY SHALL HAVE EQUAL AUDIENCE. This imports not merely, that you shall not prejudge, not merely that the same impartiality shall be shewn to both; but still further, that the contending parties shall each be left at full liberty to arrange, and to conduct his pleading, as his choice or judgment may determine.¹

In many instances hath ÆSCHINES the entire advantage in this cause. Two there are of more especial moment. First, as to our interests in the contest, we are on terms utterly unequal; for they are by no means points of equal import, for me to be deprived of your affections, and for him to be defeated

¹ This is a liberty the orator hath accordingly assumed, and most artfully and happily. Under the pretence of guarding against all prepossessions, he first enters into a full detail of public affairs, and sets his own services in the fairest point of view. Having thus gained the hearts of his hearers, then he ventures on the points of law relative to his accounts, &c. And these he soon dismisses with an affected contempt of his adversary, and a perfect confidence in the merits of his own cause. Then come his objections to the character of the prosecutor, which naturally led him round again to the history of his own administration, the point on which he chiefly relied; and where he had the finest occasions of displaying his own merits, and of loading Æschines and his adherents with the heaviest imputations, as traitors to the state, and malicious enemies to those who were distinguished by zeal in support of her rights and dignity.

in his prosecution. As to me—but, when I am entering on my defence, let me suppress every thing ominous, sensible as I must be of this the advantage of my adversary.—In the next place, such is the natural disposition of mankind, that invective and accusation are heard with pleasure, while they who speak their own praises are received with impatience. His then, is the part which commands a favourable acceptance; that which must prove offensive to every single hearer is reserved for me. If, to guard against this disadvantage, I should decline all mention of my own actions, I know not by what means I could refute the charge, or establish my pretensions to this honour. If, on the other hand, I enter into a detail of my whole conduct, private and political, I must be obliged to speak perpetually of myself. Here, then, I shall endeavour to preserve all possible moderation; and, what the circumstances of the case necessarily extort from me must, in justice, be imputed to him who first moved a prosecution so extraordinary.

I presume, ye judges, ye will all acknowledge, that in this cause Ctesiphon and I are equally concerned; that it calls for my attention no less than his. For, in every case, it is grievous and severe to be deprived of our advantages; and especially when they are wrested from us by an enemy. But to be deprived of your favour and affections, is a misfortune the most severe, as these are advantages the most important. And if such be the object of the present contest, I hope, and it is my general request to this tribunal, that, while I endeavour to defend myself fairly and equitably, against this charge, ye will hear me as the laws direct, those laws, which their first author, SOLON, the man so tender of our interests, so true a friend to liberty, secured, not by enacting only, but by the additional provision of that oath imposed on you, ye judges, not, as I conceive, from any suspicion of your integrity, but from a clear conviction, that, as the prosecutor, who is first to speak, hath the advantage of loading his adversary with invectives and calumnies, the defendant could not possibly prevail against them, unless each of you, who are to pronounce sentence, should, with a reverend attention to that duty which you owe to heaven, favourably admit the just defence of him who is

to answer, vouchsafe an impartial and equal audience to both parties, and thus form your decision, on all that hath been urged by both.

As I am, on this day, to enter into an exact detail of all my conduct, both in private life, and in my public administration, here permit me to repeat those supplications to the gods with which I first began, and, in your presence, to offer up my prayers, first, that I may be received by you, on this occasion, with the same affection which I have ever felt for this state and all its citizens; and, in the next place, that heaven may direct your minds to that determination, which shall prove most conducive to the general honour of all, and most exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each individual.

Had Æschines confined his accusation to those points only on which he founded his impeachment, I too should have readily proceeded to support the *legality* of the decree. But, as he hath been no less copious upon other subjects, as he hath pressed me with various allegations, most of them the grossest falsehoods, I deem it necessary, and it is but just that I first speak a few words of these, that none of you may be influenced by matters foreign to the cause, and no prepossessions conceived against me, when I come to the chief point of my defence.

As to all that scandalous abuse which he hath vented against my private character, mark, on what a plain and equitable issue I rest the whole. If you know me to be such a man as he alleges, (for I am no stranger, my life hath been spent among you,) suffer me not to speak, no, though my public administration may have had the most transcendent merit; rise up at once, and pronounce my condemnation. But if you have ever esteemed, if you have known me to be much superior to him, of a family more reputable; inferior to no citizen of common rank, either in character or birth, (to say more might seem arrogant and offensive), then let him be denied all confidence in other matters; for here is a plain proof that he hath equally been false in all; and let me be now favoured with the same regard which I have experienced on many former trials.—Yes, Æschines! depraved as is your heart, your understanding here appears equally depraved! To

imagine that I could be diverted from the account of all my political transactions, by turning aside to these your personal scurrilities: I shall not proceed thus: I am not so infatuated; no, I shall first examine all that falsehood and virulence with which you have loaded my administration; and then proceed to those calumnies with which he hath so licentiously abused my private character, if this audience can endure the odious detail.

To proceed then to the articles on which I am accused. These are many and grievous; some of that kind, against which the laws denounce severe, nay the utmost, punishments. But the whole scheme of this prosecution discovers all the rancour of enmity, all the extravagance, and virulence, and insolence of malice; which, I call the gods to witness, is neither right nor constitutional, nor just. True it is, that no man should be denied the privilege of appearing and speaking before the people; but this privilege never should be perverted to the purposes of animosity and envy. *Yet thus hath he abused it.* For, had he really been witness of my crimes against the state, and of crimes so heinous, as he hath now set forth with such theatrical solemnity, he might have resorted to the legal punishments, while the facts were recent; had he seen me acting so as to merit an impeachment, he might have impeached; had I proposed illegal decrees, he might in due form have accused me of illegal decrees; or whatever other crimes his malice hath now falsely urged against me, whatever other instances of guilt he had discovered in my conduct; there are laws against them all, there are punishments, there are legal forms of procedure, which might have condemned me to the severest penalties. Here was his resource. And did it appear that he had proceeded thus, that he had thus embraced the legal advantages against me, then had he been consistent in the present prosecution. But now, as he hath deviated from the regular and equitable method; as he hath declined all attempts to convict me, while the facts were recent; and, after so long an interval, hath collected such an heap of calumny, of ribaldry and scandal; it is evident he but acts a part; while I am the person really accused, he affects the form of proceeding only against this man: while, on the very face of the prosecution, there appears

a malicious design against me, he dares not point his malice at the real object, but labours to destroy the reputation of another. So that, to all the other arguments obvious to be urged, with all the force of truth, in defence of Ctesiphon, I might fairly add one more: That, whatever be our particular quarrels, justice requires that they should be discussed between ourselves; that we ourselves, I say, should support the contest, and not seek for some innocent victim to sacrifice to our animosities. This is the severest injustice. No! he cannot pursue Ctesiphon on my account; and that he hath not directed his impeachment against me can proceed but from a consciousness that such impeachment could not be supported.

Here then I may rest my cause, as it is natural to conclude from what hath now been offered, that all the several articles of his accusation must be equally unjust, and equally devoid of truth. But it is my purpose to examine them distinctly, one by one; and especially his injurious falsehoods relative to the PEACE and EMBASSY, where he would transfer the guilt of those actions upon me, which he himself committed, in conjunction with Philocrates. And here, my fellow-citizens, it is necessary, nor is it foreign to the purpose, to recal to your remembrance the state of our affairs in those times, that, together with each conjuncture, ye may have a clear view of each particular transaction.

At that period, then, when the Phocian war broke out, (not by my means, for I had no share in public business at that time) such were, in the first place, the dispositions of this state, that we wished the safety of the Phocians, although we saw the injustice of their conduct; and what calamity soever the Thebans might have suffered would have given us pleasure, as we were incensed, and not without reason and justice, against this people: indeed they had not used their success at Leuctra with moderation. Then, Peloponnesus was all divided: those who hated the Lacedæmonians were not strong enough to destroy them; nor could the governors, appointed by Lacedæmon, maintain their authority in the several cities: but they, and all, were every-where involved in desperate contention and disorder. PHILIP, perceiving this, (for it was no secret) and lavishing his gold on the traitors in the several states, aided

the confusion, and inflamed them still more violently against each other. Thus did he contrive to make the faults and errors of other men subservient to his own interests, so as to rise to that height of power which threatened all Greece. And now, when men began to sink under the calamity of a long-protracted war; when the then insolent, but now unhappy Thebans, were on the point of being compelled, in the face of Greece, to fly to you for protection; Philip, to prevent this, to keep the states from uniting, promised a peace to you; to them, a reinforcement. What was it then, which so far conspired with his designs, that you fell into the snare by an error almost voluntary? The cowardice shall I call it? Or the ignorance of the other Greeks? Or rather a combination of both? Who, while you were maintaining a tedious and incessant war, and this in the common cause, (as was evident in fact) never once provided for your support, either by money, or by troops, or by any assistance whatever. This conduct you received with a just and a becoming resentment, and readily listened to the overtures of Philip. Hence were you prevailed on to grant the peace, not by any promises of mine, as he hath falsely asserted. And it must appear, upon a fair examination, that the iniquity and corruption of these men, in the course of that treaty, have been the real cause of all our present difficulties. But I shall now proceed to a faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction; conscious, that, if any instances of guilt ever so heinous should appear in it, not one can be fairly charged on me.

The first who ever moved or mentioned a peace was Aristodemus the player. The man who seconded his instances, and proposed the decree, and who, with him, had hired out his services on this occasion, was Philocrates, *your* accomplice, Æschines, not *mine*: no! though you roar out your falsehoods 'till you burst.—They who united with them in support of this measure, (from what motives I shall not now inquire) were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had no part in it at all. And, though this be really the fact, though it be proved by the evidence of truth itself, yet so abandoned is he to all sense of shame, as to dare not only to assert that I was the author of this peace, but that I prevented the state from concluding it in

conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks.—O thou—by what name can I properly call thee? When thou wert present, when thou sawest me depriving the state of an interest so important, a conjunction of such moment, as thou now describest with so much pomp, didst thou express thy indignation? Didst thou rise up, to explain, to inforce, that guilt of which thou now accusest me? And, had Philip purchased this my important service of preventing the union of the Greeks, surely it was not thy part to be silent, but to cry aloud, to testify, to inform these thy fellow-citizens. But this was never done: thy voice was never once heard on this occasion.—And, in fact, no embassy was at that time sent to any of the Grecian states: they had all discovered their sentiments long before; such is the absurdity of his assertions. And, what is still worse, these his falsehoods are principally directed against the honour of our state. For, if you called on the other Greeks to take up arms, and at the same time sent out your ministers to Philip to treat for peace, this was the act of an Eurybatus, not the part of this city, not the procedure of honest men. But this is not the fact: no! For what purpose could ye have sent to them at that period? For a peace? They were all at peace. For a war? We were then actually deliberating about the treaty. Upon the whole, therefore, it doth not appear that I was at all the agent, or at all the author of this first peace: nor can he produce the least reasonable evidence to support those other falsehoods he hath urged against me.

Again, from the time when this state had agreed to peace, examine fairly what course of conduct each of us adopted. Thus you will clearly see who was Philip's agent upon every occasion; who acted for you, and sought the real interest of his country.

I, on my part, proposed a decree in the senate, that our ambassadors should embark, with all expedition, for such place as they were informed was the present residence of Philip, and receive his oaths of ratification. But they, even after my decree had passed, declined to pay the due obedience.—And here, Athenians! I must explain the import and moment of this my decree. It was the interest of Philip, that the interval between our acceding and his swearing to the

treaty should be as long, yours, that it should be as short, as possible. And why? You had abandoned all warlike preparations, not only from the day when you had sworn to the peace, but from the moment you had first conceived an expectation of it: he, on the contrary, redoubled his attention to all military affairs, through the whole intervening period; concluding, (and it proved a just conclusion,) that whatever places he could wrest from us, previously to his oaths of ratification, he might retain them all securely, and that no one could think of rescinding the treaty upon that account. This I foresaw; I weighed it maturely, and hence proposed this decree, that they should repair to Philip, and receive his oaths, with all expedition; that so he should be obliged to ratify the treaty, while the Thracians, your allies, yet kept possession of those places, the object of this man's ridicule, Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergyskè: not that Philip, by seizing such of them as were most convenient to his purposes, should become master of all Thrace; not that he should acquire vast treasures; not that he should gain large reinforcements, and thus execute all his future schemes with ease.—Here is a decree which Æschines hath never mentioned, never quoted. But, because I moved in the senate, that the ambassadors of Macedon should be introduced, he inveighs against me as highly criminal. What should I have done? Was I to move, that they should not be introduced? The men who came purposely to treat with us? Was I to forbid, that any seats should be appointed for them in the theatre? Why, they might have purchased seats at the common trifling price! Was I to shew my concern for Athens by such minute savings, while, like him and his accomplices, I sold our capital interests to Philip? No!—Take my decree, which he, though well acquainted with it, hath passed over in silence.—Read!

The Decree.

“IN the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the nineteenth day of the month Ecatombæon, the Pandionian tribe presiding,—Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, proposed the following decree:

"WHEREAS Philip, by his ambassadors sent to Athens to confer about a peace, hath agreed and concluded on the terms: it is resolved by the senate and people of Athens, in order to the final execution of this treaty, agreeably to the resolutions and conventions of a former assembly, THAT five ambassadors be chosen from the community of Athens: which ambassadors thus chosen shall depart, and without delay, repair to such place as they shall be informed is the place of Philip's residence, and, with all possible expedition, mutually receive and take the oaths necessary for ratification of the treaty concluded, as aforesaid, with the people of Athens, including the allies on each side.—The persons chosen into this commission are Eubulus, Æschines, Cephisophon, Democrates, and Cleon."

When, by this decree, I had approved my attachment to the state, not to the interests of Philip, our excellent ambassadors sat down in perfect indifference, three whole months, in Macedon, although, within the space of ten, or rather of three or four days, they might have arrived at the Hellespont, tendered the oaths, and thus saved the towns before he had reduced them.—For, he would not have attempted the least hostility in our presence; or, if he had, we might have refused his ratification, and disappointed his hopes of peace: for, he could not have enjoyed both; a peace and his conquests also.

Such was the first instance of Philip's artifice in this negotiation, and of the corruption of these wicked men; for which I then denounced, and now, and ever must, denounce perpetual war and opposition against these enemies of Heaven.—I proceed to point out another, and a still more flagrant instance of iniquity.—When Philip had, in due form, acceded to the treaty, having first possessed himself of Thrace, by means of those ministers who refused obedience to my decree, he bribed them once again not to depart from Macedon, until he had completed his armament against the Phocians; lest a fair report of his designs and preparations should prompt you to issue forth, steer your course to Thermopylæ, as on a former occasion; and block up the streights of Eubœa with your navy.¹ He resolved that the news of his preparations,

¹ In 359 B.C. the Athenians, in the interest of the Eubœans against

and his passage through the streights, should arrive together. And, such were his apprehensions, such the violence of his terror, lest, when he had gained the streights, before he had completed the destruction of Phocis, ye should be informed of his motions, resolve to assist this state, and thus defeat his grand design; that he again bribed this wretch, not in conjunction with the other deputies, but now apart, and by himself, to make such representations, and to give you such assurances, as effectually ruined all our interests.

And here, my fellow-citizens, I desire, I beseech you to bear in mind, through the whole course of this dispute, that, if Æschines had urged nothing against me foreign to his cause, I too should have confined myself to the great point in contest. But as he hath recurred to every charge, every invective which malice could suggest, it becomes necessary for me to make some short reply to all the several crimes alleged against me.

What then were the declarations which he made at this juncture, and which proved so fatal to our interests? That you ought not to be violently alarmed at Philip's passage through the streights; that the event would answer to your most sanguine wishes, if you but continued quiet; that in two or three days you should hear, that he had entered into strict friendship with those who seemed the object of his hostilities, and that he had become their enemy, with whom he now united. "For it is not words," said he, in all the solemnity of language, "that form the strict band of friendship, but a similarity of interests. And it is equally the interest of all, of Philip, of the Phocians, and of Athens, to be relieved from the insolence and stupidity of the Thebans."—And what were the immediate consequences? The unhappy Phocians were speedily destroyed, and their cities razed to their foundations: you who had relied on his assurances, and continued quiet, were shortly obliged to leave your lands desolate, and collect your property within these walls, while he received his gold. And, still further, the inveterate hatred of the Thebans and Thes-

Thebes, brought in five days an army into Eubœa, and in thirty days obliged the Thebans to evacuate the island.

salians fell, with all its weight, on Athens, while Philip's conduct was attended with applause and popularity. To prove these things, read the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter received from Philip. They both confirm the truth of my assertions.—Read!

The Decree.

“IN the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the twenty-first day of the month of Mæmacterion, in an assembly extraordinary, convened by authority of the generals, prytanes, and senate, at the motion of Callisthenes, it is RESOLVED,

“That no citizen of Athens be permitted, on any pretence whatever, to pass the night in the country: but that every man shall confine himself within the city, or the precincts of the Piræus, excepting only such persons as may be appointed to the defence of some post. That every such person shall be obliged to maintain his station, without presuming to absent himself, either by night or day. That whoever refuses to pay due obedience to this resolution and decree, shall incur the penalties ordained for traitors, unless he can allege some necessary cause, to be approved of by the general immediately in command, the treasurer, and the secretary of the senate, who shall have the sole power of judging of such allegations. That all effects now in the country shall be instantly removed; those within the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia, into the city or Piræus: those at any greater distance, to Eleusis, Phylè, Aphidna, Rhamnusium, and Sunium.”

Were these the hopes which induced you to conclude the peace? Were these the promises, with which this hireling amused you?—Now read the letter soon afterwards received from Philip.

The Letter.

“PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, health.

“Know ye that we have passed the streights of Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis. We have stationed our garri- sons in such towns as have submitted and acknowledged our

authority. Those which have presumed to resist our force, we have taken by assault, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and razed their habitations to the ground. But, being informed that you are making dispositions for the support of these people, we, by these presents, recommend to you to spare yourselves the pains of such an ineffectual attempt. Your conduct must certainly appear extremely inequitable and extravagant, in arming against us, with whom you have so lately concluded a treaty. If you have determined to shew no regard to your engagements, we shall only wait for the commencement of hostilities, to exert a resolution on our part, no less vigorous and formidable."

You hear how he announces his intention in this letter: how explicitly he declares to his allies, "I have taken these measures in despite of the Athenians, and to their eternal mortification. If ye are wise then, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will regard them as enemies, and submit to me with an entire confidence." These are not his words indeed; but thus he would gladly be understood. And by these means did he acquire such an absolute dominion over their affections, that, blind and insensible to all consequences, they suffered him to execute the utmost schemes of his ambition. Hence, all the calamities which the wretched Thebans experience at this day. While he, who was the great agent and coadjutor in procuring this implicit confidence; he who in this place uttered his falsehoods, and deceived you by his flattering assurances; he it is who affects a deep concern at the misfortunes of Thebes, who displays them in such pathetic terms; although he himself be the real author both of these and the calamities of Phocis, and of all others which the Greeks have suffered. Yes, *Æschines*, you must be affected deeply with these events, you must indeed feel compassion for the Thebans: you who have acquired possessions in *Bœotia*, you who enjoy the fruits of their lands: and I must surely rejoice at their misery; I who was instantly demanded by the man who had inflicted it.

But I have been led insensibly to some particulars, which I may shortly introduce with more propriety. I now return to the proof of my assertion, that the corruption and iniquity

of these men have been the real cause of our present difficulties. —When Philip had contrived to deceive you so effectually, by means of those who, during their embassy, had sold themselves to this prince, and never reported one word of truth to your assemblies; when the wretched Phocians also had been betrayed, and their cities levelled with the ground;—what followed? The miscreant Thessalians and the stupid Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their saviour: he was every thing with them: nor could they bear a word which tended to oppose these sentiments. On your part, although ye looked with a just suspicion on the progress of affairs, although ye felt the utmost indignation, yet still ye adhered to the treaty: for it was not possible to act, single as ye were. The other Greeks too, equally abused with you, and equally disappointed in their hopes, were yet determined to the same pacific conduct, though Philip, in effect, had long since made war upon them. For when, in the circuit of his expedition, he had destroyed the Illyrians, and the Triballians, and even some Grecian states; when a certain set of men had seized the opportunity of a peace, issued forth from the several cities, and, repairing to Macedon, had there received his bribes, (of which number *Æschines* was one) then were the real objects of his hostilities discovered, and then was the attack made on the several states. Whether they yet perceived this attack, or no, is another question, a question which concerns not me: I was ever violent in forewarning, in denouncing the danger here, and in every place to which I was deputed. But, in fact, the states were all unsound. Those who had the conduct and administration of affairs, had been gained by gold: while their private citizens and popular assemblies were either blind to all consequences, or caught by the fatal bait of temporary ease and quiet. And such was the general infatuation that each community conceived, that they alone were to be exempted from the common calamity, nay, that they could derive their own security from the public danger. To this I must impute it, that the many found their inordinate and ill-timed indolence exchanged for slavery: while their statesmen, who imagined that they were selling every thing but themselves, found at length that they had first sold themselves. Instead of friends

and guests (so were they stiled, while they were receiving their bribes) now, are they called flatterers, enemies to Heaven, and every other odious name so justly merited. For it is not the interest of the traitor that is at all regarded by the man who bribes him; nor, when the purchased service hath been once obtained, is the traitor ever admitted into his future confidence. If he were, no man could be happier than the traitor. But this is not the case, my fellow-citizens! How should it? No! impossible! When the votary of ambition hath once obtained his object, he also becomes master of his vile agents: and, as he knows their baseness, then, then he detests them, he keeps them at a wary distance; he spurns them from him. Reflect on former events: their time indeed is passed: but men of sense may always find a time to derive instruction from them. Læsthenes was called the friend of Philip, until he had betrayed Olynthus; Timolæus, until he had destroyed the Thebans; Eudicus and Simo, until they had given him the dominion of Thessaly; then were they driven away with scorn, then were they loaded with every kind of wretchedness; and traitors in disgrace were dispersed through the whole nation. How was Aristratus received at Sicyon? How Perilæus at Megara? Are they not in abject infamy? And, hence, it evidently appears, that he who is most vigilant in defence of his country, and most zealous in his opposition to such men, is really a friend to you, Æschines, and your venal, traitorous faction, (as his conduct makes it necessary to bribe you;) and that your safety and your gains depend entirely on the number of such patriots, and their obstinate aversion to your counsels. If left to yourselves, ye must have long since perished.

And now, as to the transactions of those times, I might say more; but I have already said what I deem more than sufficient. To him must it be imputed, who hath disgorged all the foulness of his own iniquity upon me, which it was necessary to wipe away, for the sake of those who were born since the events I speak of. To you, ye Judges, the detail must be tedious and disgusting. Before I had uttered one word, you were well informed of his prostitution. He calls it friendship and intimate connection. Thus hath he just now expressed it. —“He who reproaches me with the intimacy of Alexander!”

I reproach thee with the intimacy of Alexander! How could'st thou obtain it? How could'st thou aspire to it? I could never call thee the friend of Philip; no, nor the intimate of Alexander. I am not so mad. Unless we are to call those menial servants, who labour for their wages, the friends and intimates of those who hire them. But, how can this be? Impossible! No! I formerly called you the hireling of Philip; I now call you the hireling of Alexander; and so do all these our fellow-citizens. If you doubt it, ask them; or I shall ask them for you. Ye citizens of Athens, do you account Æschines the hireling, or the intimate of Alexander? [*The audience cried out, "hireling!"*]¹ You hear their answer.

I now proceed to my defence against the several articles of his impeachment, and to the particulars of my ministerial conduct, that Æschines, (although he knows them well,) may hear the reasons on which I justly claim the honour of this decree, and might claim still greater honours.—Take the impeachment.—Read it.

The Impeachment.

"IN the archonship of Chærondas, on the sixth day of the month Elaphæbolion, Æschines, son of Atrometus, of the Cothocidian tribe, IMPEACHED Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, of the Anaphlystian tribe, before the archon, of a VIOLATION OF THE LAWS.

¹ Commentators seem surprised at the boldness and the success of this appeal. Some tell us, that the speaker was hurried into the hazardous question by his impetuosity. Some, that his friend Menander was the only person who returned the answer he desired. But the truth is, he was too much interested in the present contest, to suffer him to be *really* transported beyond the strictest bounds of prudence and caution; he was too well supported to rely upon a single voice, if such could be at all heard in the assembly. The assembly, to which he addressed himself, was of a quite different kind from one of our modern courts of law, where order and decorum are maintained. The audience were not at all concerned to suppress the emotions raised in them by the speaker. And Demosthenes had a large party present, who, he was well assured, would return the proper answer loudly.

"Forasmuch as he hath been author of an ILLEGAL DECREE, importing, that a GOLDEN CROWN should be conferred on Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe; and, that proclamation should be made in the theatre, during the grand festival of Bacchus, and the exhibition of the new tragedies, that the people of Athens had conferred this golden crown upon the said Demosthenes, on account of his virtue, and affectionate attachment to Greece in general, and to Athens in particular; as also, on account of that magnanimity and steady zeal in speaking and acting for the interests of this state, which he hath ever discovered, and still discovers, upon every occasion, to the utmost of his power—All which clauses are false, and repugnant to our laws. As it is enacted,

"FIRST, that no man shall enter false allegations into our public acts.

"SECONDLY, that no man, yet accountable for any office of trust shall receive a crown; whereas, Demosthenes was director of the fortifications, and manager of the theatrical funds.

"LASTLY, that no CROWN shall be proclaimed in the theatre during the festival, or dramatic entertainments, but in the senate-house, if the CROWN be granted by the senate; if by the commons, in the Pnyx, and in full assembly.

"THE penalty, fifty talents.¹ The agents, Cephisophon and Cleon."²

Here, you have the several articles of the decree, on which he founds his prosecution. And on these very articles I mean to rest the justice of my cause. I shall take them in the order of this impeachment, and speak to them one by one, without any voluntary omission.—As to the clause of "that steady

¹ The damages, if we may so call them, were laid at such a vast sum as Ctesiphon, if condemned, could by no means discharge; in which case he must have been banished or branded with infamy: and Demosthenes must probably have shared the same fate: against whom, no doubt, Æschines would have immediately commenced a second prosecution, with the fairest prospect of success.

² The agents were usually some friends of the contending party, who were employed in summoning the accused, citing witnesses, and other matters of form and legal procedure.

zeal in speaking and acting for the interest of this state, which I have ever discovered, and still discover, upon every occasion, to the utmost of my power," and the honours appointed to me, on this account, the decision must depend on my ministerial conduct. From this conduct, duly considered, it will appear, whether Ctesiphon hath adhered to truth and propriety in these assertions, or whether they be false.—As to the omission of conferring the crown *when my accounts of office should be first passed*, and the appointment of the theatre as the place of proclamation; these points too might be determined by my administration, this might decide whether I be worthy of such an honour and such a publication. Yet I deem it incumbent on me to produce the laws, by which these clauses are fully warranted. So upright, and so plain, is the scheme of my defence.

I proceed, then, to the particular measures of my administration. And let no man think that I am suspending the discussion of this cause, if I enter into the affairs and counsels of Greece. He who hath attacked this assertion, that "I have ever spoken and acted for the general interest;" he who expressly accuses it of falsehood; he it is, who makes the account of all my public conduct, all my whole system of administration, immediately pertinent and necessary to this suit. Besides, among the different departments of those who engage in public business, mine was of that nature which attached me more immediately to the interests of Greece. From these I must, therefore, be allowed to deduce my evidence.

As to those conquests and acquisitions which Philip had obtained, before I had engaged in the administration, before my appearance as a popular leader, I shall pass them over; for they, by no means, (as I conceive) affect the merits of my cause. As to those various instances in which he found his ambition most effectually restrained, from the very day on which I first entered upon public business, these shall I recall to your thoughts, and freely submit to your judgments. But let this be first premised: One advantage did our adversary enjoy, and this (my fellow-citizens!) of great importance. It was the unhappy fortune of the several Grecian states, not of some only, but equally of all, to supply so vast a provision of traitors, of hirelings, of men devoted by the gods, as was not

known in the memory of man. These did Philip engage as his agents and co-adjutors, and, by their means, inflamed the animosities which had already torn and distracted the Greeks. Some he deceived; some he gained by bribes, on others he employed all his engines of seduction; and thus rent the nation into many different parties, although all were alike engaged in one common cause, that of uniting against the progress of his power. In such a general dissension of the Grecian states, in such a general blindness both to the present, and to the rising evil, consider, Athenians, what were the measures, what was the conduct which became this state? And for these let me be brought to a strict account: for, I am the man who advised and directed them.

Say then, Æschines, was it our part, in despite of every generous sentiment, every consideration of our dignity, to have taken our station with the Thessalians and Dolopians, to have ranged ourselves on the side of Philip, in order to subvert the dominion of the Greeks, the honours and the conquests of our ancestors? Or, if we were to reject such conduct, (and surely none could be more shameful) was it our part, our's, who had foreseen, who seemed perfectly convinced of the consequences which must arise, unless seasonably prevented, to have proved indifferent spectators, when these consequences had really arisen? Yes! I would gladly ask the man, who appears most severe in his censure of our measures, what, in his opinion, was our proper part. Was it the part of those, who were the immediate cause of all the misfortunes and calamities which fell upon the Greeks, as the Thessalians and their associates? Or of those who affected an indifference to all events from views of private interest, as the Arcadians, the Messenians, and the Argives?—And yet most of these have, in the event, proved greater sufferers than we.

I shall suppose that, after Philip had made all his conquests, he had retired to his kingdom, and there lived in peace, without attempting to molest either his own allies or the other Greeks. Even in this case, some share of censure and reproach must have fallen on those who had refused to arm against him. But when his assaults were equally directed against the dignity, the sovereignty, and the liberty of our whole nation; nay,

against the very being of those states more immediately exposed to his power; what measures could have been devised more glorious than those which you embraced, and I suggested?

But let me not wander from my point. What conduct, *Æschines*, did the dignity of this state demand, when we beheld Philip aiming at the conquest and sovereignty of Greece? Or what advice should I, her counsellor, have given, what resolutions should I have proposed, and this, in an assembly of Athenians, the circumstance of most importance? I who well knew, that, from earliest times, down to the very day on which I first spoke in public, my country had been incessantly contending for pre-eminence, for honour and renown? had expended more blood and treasure, for glory and the interests of Greece, than all the other Grecian states ever had expended for their several private interests? I, who saw this very prince, with whom we fought for power and empire, with one eye torn out, his neck dislocated, pierced in his arm, maimed in his leg, freely and cheerfully resigning any part of his body which fortune pleased to take, so that he might enjoy the rest with renown and glory? And let no man presume to say that such elevated sentiments became him who was bred at Pella, (a place at that time ignoble and obscure) as to aspire to the sovereignty of Greece, or to entertain a thought of such a daring purpose; and yet, that you, the citizens of Athens, you who in every assembly, in every theatrical entertainment, find perpetual memorials of the virtue of your ancestors, might descend to such abject meanness, as to resign the liberty of Greece, freely and voluntarily, into the hands of Philip. No! let not the presumptuous assertion be once heard.

The only course then left, and the necessary course, was this, to defend your just rights against all his injurious attempts. This course did you instantly pursue, with good reason, and with becoming dignity. And, in this, I was your counsellor, I was the first mover, during my administration. I confess it. And how should I have acted? Say, *Æschines*: I call on you.—Let all former transactions be forgotten: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonesus, I speak not of them. Serrium and Doriscum too, and the storming of Peparethus, and all the other instances in which the state was injured; let the

memory of them be effaced. You say, indeed, that I dwelt invidiously upon them, in order to embroil my country in a war: although the decrees respecting these several places were proposed by Eubulus, and Aristophon, and Diopithes: not by me. No, thou prompt slanderer! nor do I now dwell upon them. But when he had deprived us of Eubœa, when he had erected his fortress to command our whole territory, when he had attacked the Megareans, and possessed himself of Oreum, and razed Porthmus; when he had distributed his governors through the cities, established Philistides in Oreum; Clitarchus, in Eretria; when he had reduced the whole Hellespont to his obedience, and laid siege to Byzantium; when the Grecian cities had, some of them, been subverted by his arms, others forced to receive their exiles; in these instances did he act unjustly? did he violate the treaty, or did he not? Was it incumbent on some state to rise up against these attempts, or was it not? If not; if Greece was to have proved a prey for Mysians,¹ (according to the proverb) and this, while Athens yet existed, and was witness of her fall; then was I officious in remonstrating against these transactions; then was the state officious in yielding to my remonstrances: mine was then the guilt and error of every measure we pursued. But, if the progress of his arms demanded a vigorous opposition, what community but that of Athens should have risen at the call of honour?—This was the great principle of my administration. I saw the man aspiring to universal dominion—I opposed him; I warned my fellow-citizens; I taught them to rise against the ambition of the Macedonian.—And yet the formal commencement of hostilities did not proceed from us. No, Æschines, but from Philip, by his capture of our ships. Produce the decrees, and the letter received from Philip. Read each in order. These, when duly weighed, will enable us to give each transaction to its proper author. Read!

¹ *i.e.* To the weakest of all people. The proverb is said to have arisen from the distresses of the Mysians in the absence of their King Telephus, and their helpless state of oppression, when all their neighbours fell upon them and pillaged the miserable and defenceless people without mercy.

The Decree.

"IN the archonship of Neocles: an assembly extraordinary being convened by the generals, in the month of Boedromion; Eubulus son of Mnesitheus, of the Cyprian tribe, proposed the following DECREE:

"WHEREAS the generals have reported to the assembly, that Leodamus our admiral, together with twenty ships sent under his command to import corn from the Hellespont, has been taken and brought into Macedon by Amyntas, a commander in the service of King Philip; it is DECREED, that it shall be the care of the prytanes and generals, that the senate be convened, and ambassadors chosen, who shall repair to Philip, and demand the dismissal of the admiral, the vessels, and the soldiers; that they be instructed to declare, that, if Amyntas hath in this acted through ignorance, the state of Athens hath no complaints to urge against him; that, if their officer hath in anywise exceeded his commission, they are ready to take cognisance of his offence, and to punish him, as his inadvertence may have merited; but if neither of these be the case, but that this outrage be avowed either by the person who gave, or who received the commission, that the ambassadors shall demand an explanation, and report the same, that the state may determine on the proper measures."

And this decree did Eubulus frame; not I. Aristophon proposed the next: then did Hegesippus move for his: then Aristophon again: then Philocrates: then Cephisophon: and then the other speakers: I had no concern in any.—Read the next.

The Decree.

"IN the archonship of Neocles, on the last day of the month Boedromion, by a RESOLUTION of the SENATE.

"The prytanes and generals having reported the decree of the general assembly, that ambassadors be sent to Philip to demand the restoration of the ships, and that the said ambassadors be furnished with particular instructions, together with a copy of the decree of the assembly:

"The persons hereby chosen into this commission, are,

Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates. Aristophon the Cothocyidian moved this RESOLUTION, in the presidency of the tribe Hippothoöntis."

As I produce these decrees, so, Æschines, do you produce that particular decree of mine which makes me author of the war. You have not one to shew: if you had, it must have made your first and favourite charge. Nay, Philip himself, amidst all his insinuations against others, never once accuses me. Read his own letter to the State.

The Letter.

"PHILIP King of MACEDON, to the SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, health!

"I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the dismissal of certain ships commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but consider it as an extraordinary instance of weakness, to imagine that I can possibly believe that these ships were destined to import corn from the Hellespont for Lemnos; and that they were not really sent to the relief of the Selymbrians, now besieged by me, and who are by no means included in the treaty of pacification, by which we stand mutually engaged. Such were the orders your officer received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others in no private station, who are by all means solicitous to prevail on the people to violate their engagements, and to commence hostilities against me. This they have much more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantages from such a rupture. Persuaded as I am, that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders that the vessels brought in to us be immediately released. For the future let it be your part to remove those pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs; and to let them feel the severity of your justice; and I shall endeavour to adhere inviolably to my treaty. Farewel."

Here is no mention of Demosthenes, no charge against me.¹

¹ There is indeed no express specification of any person in this let-

And whence is it, that, in all his acrimony against others, he takes not the least notice of my conduct? Because he must have brought his own usurpations full into view, had he mentioned me. On these I fixed, and these I obstinately opposed. I instantly moved for an embassy to Peloponnesus, the moment he entered Peloponnesus. I then moved for an embassy to Eubœa, as soon as he had landed in Eubœa. Then did I propose the expedition (not an embassy) to Oreum, and that to Eretria, as soon as he had stationed his governors in these cities. After this, did I send out those armaments which saved the Chersonesus, and Byzantium, and all our confederates, from which this state derived the noblest consequences, applause, glory, honours, crowns, thanks, from those who had received such important services. And, even of those who had injured us, such as on this occasion yielded to your remonstrances, found effectual security; they who neglected them, had only the sad remembrance of your repeated warnings, and the conviction that ye were not only their best friends, but men of true discernment, of a prophetic spirit: for in every instance the event proved exactly consonant to your predictions.

That Philistides would have gladly given the greatest sums, to have kept Oreum; that Clitarchus would have given largely to have kept Eretria; that Philip himself would have given largely, that he might possess stations so convenient for annoying us, and that all his other actions should pass unnoticed, all his injurious proceedings unimpeached; cannot be a secret to any man: but least of all to you. You, Æschines, received the deputies sent hither by Clitarchus and Philistides: by you were they entertained. Those whom we drove from us as enemies, as men whose overtures were neither consistent with justice nor with the interest of Athens, were your dearest friends. How false and groundless then are your malicious accusations! You, who say that I am silent when I get my bribe, clamorous when I have spent it.—Your case is different: you are clamor-

ter. But those alluded to were well known. And probably they were the persons who had been most active in moving the assembly to exert themselves on this occasion; Eubulus, Aristophon, Philocrates, and Cephisophon.

ous when you receive your bribe; and your clamours can never cease: unless this day's decision should silence them effectually by the justly-merited infamy.

And when you rewarded these my services with a crown, when Aristonicus proposed his decree, conceived precisely in the very words of this which Ctesiphon hath framed, when proclamation of the honour thus conferred upon me was made in the theatre, (for this is the second time I have been thus distinguished) Æschines, though present, never made the least opposition, never attempted an impeachment.—Take the decree.—Read!

The Decree.

“IN the Archonship of Chærondas son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of the month Gamelion, the Leontidian tribe then presiding, at the motion of Aristonicus, the following decree was made:

“WHEREAS Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, hath at many times done various and eminent services to the community of Athens, and to many of our confederates; and, at this time, hath, by his counsels, secured the interests of the state, and particularly restored the liberties of certain cities in Eubœa; as he hath ever uniformly persevered in an unalterable attachment to the state of Athens, and both by words and actions exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the service of the Athenians, and the other Greeks;—Be it enacted by the senate and the popular assembly, that public honours shall be paid to the aforesaid Demosthenes; and that he shall be crowned with a golden crown; that the crown shall be proclaimed in the theatre, on the feast of Bacchus, at the time of the performance of the new tragedies; and that the making this proclamation shall be given in charge to the presiding tribe, and to the director of the public entertainments.—This is the motion of Aristonicus of the Phrærian tribe.”

And is there a man can say, that this decree brought any of that disgrace upon the state, any of that derision and contempt, which he affirms must happen, if I should obtain this crown? When actions are recent and notorious, if good, they are

received with applause; if bad, they meet their punishment. But it is well known, that on this occasion I received marks of public favour; never was censured, never punished. And the consequence is obvious. Down to the period of these transactions, I must have invariably acted for the true interest of the state: for, in all your consultations, my opinions and my measures ever were adopted. These measures I conducted to effectual execution: they were attended with crowns to the state, to me, and to you all; with sacrifices to the gods, and solemn processions, as instances of great success.

And now, when Philip had been driven from Eubœa, (yours was the military glory, but the policy, the counsels,—yes! though these my enemies should burst with envy, were mine,) he raised another engine against this state. He saw that we, of all people, used the greatest quantities of imported grain. Determined to secure this branch of commerce to himself, he passed over into Thrace, and, applying to the Byzantines, then in alliance with him, he first required them to join in a war against us. But, when they refused, when they told him, (and they told him truth,) that they had not engaged in his alliance for such purposes, he instantly prepared his works, erected his machines, and besieged their city. I shall not say, what conduct became us upon this emergency. It is manifest. Who then supported the Byzantines? Who rescued them from destruction? Who prevented the Hellespont from falling under a foreign power upon this occasion? You, my countrymen. But, when I say you, I mean the state. Who spake? Who framed the decrees? Who acted for the state? Who devoted all his powers, wholly and freely, to the public interests? I!—And, how essentially the public interests were advanced by these measures, there need no words to prove. You have facts, you have experience to convince you. For the war, in which we then engaged, (besides the glory which attended your arms,) supplied you with all the necessaries of life, in greater plenty, and at cheaper rates, than the present peace, maintained by these good citizens, in opposition to the interests of their country, from their hopes of private advantage.—Confounded be their hopes!—Never may they share in these blessings, for which your prayers, ye true friends of

Athens, are offered up to Heaven! And, O, never may they involve you in the fatal consequences of their machinations! Let them hear the crowns conferred by Byzantium, and those by Perinthus, with which our state was honoured upon this occasion:

The Decree of the Byzantines.

"BOSPHORICUS being hiëromnemon, Demagetus, by permission of the senate, drew up the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, the people of Athens have, from the earliest times, persevered in an unalterable affection to the Byzantines, and to their confederates, kinsmen, and the Perinthians; and have lately, when Philip of Macedon invaded and laid waste their territories with fire and sword, and attacked their cities, done them many and signal services; and, by a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty ships, with provisions, arms, and soldiers, have extricated us from the utmost dangers, restored our ancient constitution, our laws, and the sepulchres of our fathers; it is therefore RESOLVED, by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, to grant to the Athenians the right of intermarriage, the freedom of our states, the power of purchasing lands, and the first and most honourable seats in all our public entertainments, in the tholus, in the senate, and in the popular assembly. And, that whatever Athenian shall choose to reside in our respective cities, shall enjoy a perfect immunity and exemption from all taxes. And it is further resolved, that three statues, sixteen cubits high, shall be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the community of Athens crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians. And that honorary presents shall be sent to the several general assemblies of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian, where proclamation shall be duly made of that crown, now by us conferred on the people of Athens; that all Greece may be informed of the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians."

Read, too, the crowns conferred by the inhabitants of Chersonesus.

The Decree of the Chersonesites.

"THE Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Halonesus, do crown the senate and people of Athens with a golden crown of sixty talents. They also consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians, on account of the important services conferred by this people on the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, in delivering them from the power of Philip, and in restoring their country, their laws, their liberties, and their religion. Of which the Chersonesites shall ever retain a just and grateful sense, and be ever ready, to the utmost of their power, to return the important obligation.—Thus it was RESOLVED in a full assembly of the senate."

And thus, the measures I concerted, the conduct I pursued, not only saved the Chersonesus and Byzantium, not only foiled the Macedonian in his scheme of commanding the Hellespont, not only gained these public honours to the state, but displayed to all the world the generous sentiments of Athens, and the base perfidiousness of Philip. He, the friend, the ally of the Byzantines, in the face of Greece, besieged their city, (can we conceive a baser, a more abandoned outrage!) You, justly, repeatedly, incensed against them, by injuries received in former times, not only forgot all your wrongs, not only refused to look with indifference upon their danger, but appeared their great deliverers; and, by such transcendent generosity, acquired universal love and glory.—That you have frequently honoured those with crowns, to whom the conduct of your affairs hath been intrusted, is full well known; but name the citizen, if you can, I mean the minister or public speaker, except myself, by whose means the state hath been thus honoured.

I am now to show that all those virulent invectives which he hath thrown out against the Eubœans and Byzantines, (invidiously recalling to your view every instance of their former offences) are merely the effect of malice; not only as his representations have been false; (of this I presume there can be no doubt;) but because we might admit them to be true: and even upon this supposition it will appear that my measures were the measures which your interests demanded. For this

purpose, permit me to lay before you, in a few words, one or two instances of the noble conduct of this state. By the most illustrious of their former actions it is, that private men, or public bodies, should model their succeeding conduct.

There was a time then,¹ my fellow-citizens! when the Lacedæmonians were sovereign masters, both by sea and land: when their troops and forts surrounded the entire circuit of Attica, when they possessed Eubœa, Tanagra, the whole Bœotian district, Megara, Ægina, Cleonè, and the other islands; while this state had but one ship, not one wall. Then did you march to Haliartus; and, not many days after, were your forces once more led to Corinth. And yet the Athenians of these days had many injuries to resent, both from Corinth and from Thebes, by their conduct during the Decelian war. But far were they from harbouring such resentment. Observe then, Æschines; they acted thus, in both these instances, not that they acted for their benefactors, not that they saw no danger in these expeditions. Such considerations never could induce them to abandon those who fled to their protection. No! from the nobler motives of glory and renown, they devoted their services to the distressed. And surely this their determination was just and generous. For death must come to close the period of man's life, into whatever corner one may shrink from the inevitable blow: but the truly brave should draw the sword on all occasions of honourable danger, armed in fair hopes of success, yet still resigned with an equal fortitude to whatever may be decreed by Heaven. Such was the conduct of our ancestors, such, the conduct of our elder citizens, who, though the Lacedæmonians had been no friends, no benefactors to our state, but had injured us in many and important instances; yet, when the Thebans, flushed with their success at Leuctra, had attempted to destroy them, defeated the attempt; undismayed by the then formidable power of Thebes; determined by the motive of glory, not by the behaviour of those in whose cause they were exposed. And by these actions did you demonstrate to the Greeks, that, whatever injuries Athens may receive, her resentment is reserved only for the just occasion: when the being,

¹ About sixty years before.



when the liberty of the injurious party, is once in danger, her wrongs never are remembered, never regarded.

Nor were these the only instances in which such generous principles were displayed. Again, when Thebes had seduced the Eubœans from their attachment to this state, far from abandoning the island to the consequences of this revolt, far from remembering the injuries received from Themison and Theodorus, in the affair of Oropus, you instantly armed for their relief.¹ And on this occasion did our trierarchs, for the first time, engage voluntarily in the public service; of which number I was one.—But of this hereafter.—And if you acted nobly in thus rescuing the island; still your succeeding conduct was far more noble. When the inhabitants were at your mercy, when you were masters of their cities, you gave up all, with strictest integrity, to the men who had offended you. Nor were their offences once regarded, when they had trusted implicitly to our faith. I might recount ten thousand instances of the same kind; but I pass them over; engagements at sea; expeditions by land; the achievements of ancient times; and our own illustrious actions; all in defence of the liberty and safety of other Grecian states.—And if I saw my country cheerfully engaging in so numerous and so perilous contentions, for the interests of others, when her own interests were in some sort the object of debate, what should I have advised? What measures should I have suggested? To cherish the remembrance of their offences, when these men had accepted our protection? To seek pretences for abandoning all our important interests?—Would not the first brave arm have deservedly stabbed me to the heart, had I thus disgraced the noble actions of my country,—even but in words? For that, in fact, you never could have yielded to such disgrace, I cannot doubt. Had you been in the least inclined, where was the obstacle? Had you not the power? Had you not advisers? Were not these men urgent in their applications?

But I must return to those parts of my public conduct, which were subsequent to this period. And, here again, consider what the interest of the state really demanded. I saw the

¹ See note on page 275.

wretched decay to which our marine had been reduced; I saw our richer citizens purchase a total exemption from public taxes, at the expence of a trifling contribution; men of moderate or of small property despoiled and ruined; every opportunity of action lost to the state. I proposed a law, which obliged the rich to act fairly, relieved the poor from their oppressions, and, what was of most consequence, provided for the speedy and effectual execution of all our military operations. I was indicted on this occasion, for an infringement of our established laws: I appealed to your justice as my sole resource: and my accuser had the mortification to find not a fifth of the suffrages in his favour.—What sums of money, think ye, would our richer citizens have given me, they who contribute most largely to the public service, or even they who contribute in the next degrees, not to have proposed this law at all; or, at least, to have suffered it to be defeated, by affected cavil and delay? Such sums (my fellow-citizens!) as I am ashamed to mention. And with good reason. By the former law, sixteen of their number were to unite in the discharge of one assessment, so that the proportion of each was almost nothing; and thus they loaded the poor with the public burdens. But, by my law, every individual pays in proportion to his fortune: so that he must now equip two ships of war, who by the former assessment was taxed but at the sixteenth part of one. And accordingly they stiled themselves not *trierarchs*, but *contributors*. They would therefore have given any price, to have been disengaged from the necessity of thus acting justly.—First read the *Decree* relative to my indictment. Then produce the *Assessments*, those of the former laws, and that prescribed by mine.

The Decree.

“POLYCLES being Archon. On the sixteenth of the month Boedromion. The tribe Hippothoïs presiding.

“WHEREAS Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, proposed a law relative to the duty of *Trierarchs*, to be substituted in the place of former laws for regulating assessments for the navy: and whereas an indictment was brought by Patrocles against the said Demosthenes for an *illegal proposal*:

—Be it remembered, that the prosecutor, not having a fifth of the suffrages in his favour, was condemned in the fine of five hundred drachmæ.”

Produce now the first excellent assessment.

THE TRIERARCHS SHALL UNITE IN THE EQUIPMENT OF ONE SHIP, TO THE NUMBER OF SIXTEEN MEN, FROM THE AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE TO FORTY YEARS. EACH TO CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE EXPENCE.

Now compare his with the assessment appointed by my law.—Read it.

TRIERARCHS SHALL BE TAXED ACCORDING TO THEIR FORTUNES. HE WHO IS WORTH TEN TALENTS BY VALUATION, SHALL FIT OUT ONE SHIP; IF HIS FORTUNE BE RATED HIGHER, HE SHALL BE TAXED, AGREEABLY TO THE SAME PROPORTION, IN A HIGHER SUM; NOT EXCEEDING THE EXPENCE OF THREE SHIPS AND A TENDER. THE SAME PROPORTION ALSO SHALL BE OBSERVED IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THOSE WHOSE FORTUNES DO NOT AMOUNT TO TEN TALENTS; WHO ARE TO UNITE, IN ORDER TO MAKE UP THE SUM NECESSARY FOR FITTING OUT A SHIP.

And can this be thought a trivial service to the poor? Or would the rich have given but a trivial sum, to have eluded this equitable mode of taxation?—But I do not magnify my integrity in conducting this transaction. I do not insist on my honourable acquittal. My glory is, that I procured a salutary law, a law approved by experience as highly valuable. For, during the whole course of our late war, in all the armaments conducted agreeably to my regulation, not one trierarch was ever known to petition against the severity of his assessment; not one was known to have fled to sanctuary; not one ever was imprisoned; not a vessel did the state lose abroad; not a vessel was detained here, as unfit for service. But, while our former laws subsisted, we were perpetually exposed to all such inconveniencies. And they proceeded from our poorer citizens. These were insufficient for the discharge of their assessments; and we were continually feeling the effects of such insufficiency.

But by my means were the public burdens transferred from the poorer to our richer citizens, and the business of the state conducted without the least interruption. Permit me then to claim some praise on this account at least, that through the course of my public administration I constantly pursued such measures as reflected glory on the state, exalted her renown, and enlarged her power. No sordid envy, no rancour, no malignity, have I ever discovered; no meanness, nothing unworthy of my country. Such was the general tenor of my administration, in the affairs of this city, and in the national concerns of Greece. And no wonder. Here, I was never known to prefer the favour of the great to the rights of the people. And, in the affairs of Greece, the bribes, the flattering assurances of friendship which Philip lavished, never were so dear to me, as the interests of the nation.

The only articles, I presume, which now remain for me to speak to, are those of the PROCLAMATION, and the ACCOUNTS. For that I have pursued the true interest of the state, that I have on all occasions discovered a warm affection and zealous alacrity in your service, I trust hath been established already, with the clearest evidence. I have indeed omitted the most important parts of my administration, the greatest of my services; both because I deem it incumbent on me to proceed to my defence against the charge of violating the laws; and because I am convinced your own consciences must bear the amplest testimony in my favour, although I should be totally silent as to the other parts of my conduct.

As to what he hath urged with such confusion and embarrassment, about his authentic transcripts of the laws, Heaven is my witness, that I am convinced you could not comprehend it: and, to me, it is, for the most part, utterly unintelligible. But my course shall be more ingenuous and direct. I shall lay before you the plain dictates of truth and equity. Far from asserting that I am not *accountable* to the public, as he hath repeatedly insinuated and affirmed, I here declare, that, through my whole life, I must ever stand accountable for every trust which I have executed, every measure which I have directed. But, for what I have freely expended of my private fortune, in the service of the public, I cannot at any time be liable to

account: (observe me, Æschines!) No! nor any other citizen, were he the first of our magistrates. For, where is that law so pregnant with injustice and inhumanity, as to rob the man of all his merit, whose fortune hath been expended for the state, whose public spirit and munificence have been displayed in some important instance? To expose him to the malice of informers? To give them a power to scrutinize his bounty? There can be no such law! If there be, let him produce it; and I shall submit in silence. No, my countrymen! he cannot!

"But," saith this sycophant, "the senate hath conferred public honours on him, *while his accounts were yet to be approved*, under the pretence of some additional disbursements from his own fortune, when manager of the theatrical funds."—Not for any part of that conduct which stood *accountable*; but for those additional disbursements; thou sycophant!—"But you were director of our fortifications."—Yes: and on that occasion were entitled to my honours; for I expended more than the state had granted, without charging this addition to the public. Where a charge is made, the accounts must be examined: but, where a free gift is conferred, favour and applause are the natural and just returns. This decree of Ctesiphon in my favour is, therefore, strictly warranted. It is a point determined, not by the laws only, but by our constant usage. This I shall readily demonstrate in various instances. In the first place, Nausicles, when at the head of our forces, was frequently honoured with a crown, for his bounty to the state. Then, Diotimus, who gave the arms, and Charidemus also received their crowns. I have another instance before me: Neoptolemus. He was frequently intrusted with public works, and received honours for his additional disbursements. For it would be hard indeed, if the man, invested with some office of authority, should either stand precluded by the office, from assisting the state with his private fortune, or find his liberal assistance the object of account and scrutiny, instead of meeting the due returns of gratitude.—To confirm what I have now advanced, produce the decrees made on these occasions.—Read!

A Decree.

"IN the Archonship of Demonicus, the 26th of the month Boedromion, Callias thus reported the resolution of the senate and people:

"IT IS RESOLVED by the senate and people to confer a crown on Nausicles, the general in command: in as much as when two thousand regular forces of Athens were in Imbrus, assisting the Athenian colony in that island, and when, by means of the severity of the season, Phialon their agent could not sail thither, and pay the soldiers; the said Nausicles made the necessary disbursements from his own fortune, without any charge to the public in his accounts.—And that proclamation be made of the crown thus granted, during the feast of Bacchus, and the performances of the new tragedies."

A Decree.

"THE motion of Callias: agreeably to the report made of the resolution of the senate.

"WHEREAS Charidemus, commander of the infantry in the expedition to Salamis, and Diotimus, general of horse, when in the engagement at the river, some of our forces had been stripped of their arms by the enemy, at their own private expence, furnished the new levies with eight hundred bucklers: it is RESOLVED by the senate and people, that golden crowns be conferred on the said Charidemus and Diotimus: which crowns shall be proclaimed in the grand festival of Minerva, during the gymnastic games and new tragedies: of which the magistrates and managers of the entertainments are to take notice, and cause proclamation to be duly made as aforesaid."

Each of these, Æschines, was bound to account for the office he enjoyed: but the action, for which he was honoured, was by no means subject to account. Then why should mine be subject? Surely, I may claim the same treatment with others, in like circumstances. I gave my additional contribution to the public: I was honoured for it; not as a man who stood accountable for this donation. I held a magisterial office: I accounted for my conduct in this office; not for my free bounty.

“True!—but you have acted iniquitously in your office.”—If so, were you not present, when my accounts were passed? And why did you not impeach me?—But, to convince you that he himself is witness that this crown is not conferred, for any part of my conduct really subject to account, take, read this decree of Ctesiphon at large. The clauses unimpeached will shew the malice of his prosecution in those he hath attacked.—Read!

The Decree.

“IN the Archonship of Euthycles, the 29th of the month Pyanepsion: the Oenian tribe presiding. The decree of CTESIPHON son of Leosthenes the Anaphylstian.

“WHEREAS DEMOSTHENES, son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, in his office of director of the fortifications, expended an additional sum of three talents, from his private fortune, which he gave freely to the public: and, when manager of the theatrical funds, increased the general collection, by a voluntary addition of one hundred minæ for sacrifices; be it RESOLVED, by the senate and people of Athens, to grant public honours to the said Demosthenes, on account of his virtue and nobleness of disposition, which he hath, on all occasions, invariably discovered towards the community of Athens. And to crown him with a golden CROWN: and that proclamation shall be made of this crown thus conferred, in the theatre, during the feast of Bacchus, and the exhibition of the new tragedies; of which the directors of the theatre are to take notice, and cause proclamation to be made as aforesaid.”

My free grant of these additional sums is the article not included in your indictment; the honours decreed for this bounty is that on which you found your charge. You admit that to accept my bounty is no infringement of the laws; you insist that to confer the due returns of favour, on this account, is criminal and illegal. In the name of Heaven, what part could the most abandoned, the malignant wretch, odious to the gods, have acted upon this occasion? Must he not have acted thus?

As to the circumstance of making proclamation in the

theatre, I shall not mention that many times many thousands have been granted such an honour, or that I myself have been thus honoured on many former occasions. But, is it possible, ye powers! Art thou, Æschines, indeed, so lost to all sense and reason, as to be incapable of apprehending, that, to the party who receives the honour, it comes with equal dignity, wherever it be proclaimed? That it is for their sakes who grant it, that the theatre is appointed for the proclamation. For, by this means, the multitude who hear it are inspired with ardour to approve themselves zealous in the service of their country: and they who give this testimony of their gratitude, share more largely in the public applause, than those who receive it. On this principle was our law enacted. Take up the law itself!—Read it!

The Law.

“IN ALL CASES, WHERE A CROWN IS CONFERRED ON ANY PERSON BY A SINGLE DISTRICT, PROCLAMATION SHALL BE MADE OF THE SAID CROWN, IN THE PARTICULAR DISTRICT SO CONFERRING IT. PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT, WHERE CROWNS ARE GRANTED BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS AT LARGE, OR BY THE SENATE, IT SHALL AND MAY BE LAWFUL TO MAKE PROCLAMATION IN THE THEATRE DURING THE FESTIVAL OF BACCHUS.”

Æschines! Dost thou hear? Are not these the very words of our law? *“Provided always, that, where crowns are granted by the people or the senate, proclamation shall be made of these.”* Why then, unhappy man, hath thy malice been thus restless? Why this fictitious tale? Why not recur to medicine, to cure this disorder of thy mind? And feelest thou no shame at a prosecution dictated by envy, not by justice; supported by false recitals of our laws, by imperfect quotations of detached sentences; those laws, which should have party who receives the honour, it comes with equal dignity, sworn to decide agreeably to their true tenor?—Hence you proceed to delineate the characters of a patriot statesman, as if you were giving a model for a statue, and found the piece not conformable to your model; as if words could mark out the patriot statesman, and not his actions and administration.—

Then comes your clamorous abuse,¹ vented without distinction or reserve, but suited to you and to your family, not to me. And this (Athenians!) I take to be the true distinction between a vague invective, and a regular prosecution. This is supported by criminal facts, whose penalties the laws have ascertained. That is attended with the rancour which enemies naturally throw out against each other. Our ancestors, I presume, erected these tribunals, not for assembling to indulge our private and personal animosities in mutual scurrility; but to give us occasion of convicting that man, fairly, who hath injured the community in any instance. This Æschines must know as well as I. Yet, instead of establishing his evidence, he hath discharged his virulence against me. Nor is it just that he should escape without the due returns of severity on my part. But, before I am involved in the odious task, let me ask him one question. Say, Æschines, are we to deem thee an enemy to Athens, or to me? I presume, to me. And yet, on every occasion, where you had all the advantage of the law, in bringing me to justice, (if I had offended,) on passing my accounts, on moving my decrees, on former trials, where my conduct was impeached, you were silent. But in a case, where all the laws pronounced me innocent, where the procedure hath been regular, where numberless precedents are in my favour, where my conduct, far from discovering any thing of a criminal tendency, appears, in every instance, to have reflected a degree of honour upon my country; in such a case, I say, hast thou chosen to attack me? Beware then, that, while I am the pretended object of thy enmity, thou prove not really the enemy of Athens. [*Acclamations from the assembly.*]

¹ In the original, "as from a *Cart*." Some derive this proverbial expression from the first rude state of ancient comedy, and find a particular spirit in the allusion, as containing a reflection on the theatrical character of Æschines. But the scholiasts on Aristophanes and Suidas explain the proverb in another manner. They tell us that the Athenian women, when they went in their carriages to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, usually took great liberties in their abuse of each other, and hence the Greek expression to signify licentious and indecent ribaldry, "railings from a cart."

Well then; since you are all determined on the truly religious and equitable sentence, the virulence this man hath uttered obliges me, (I think,) though not naturally fond of invective, to retort his numerous and false assertions, by some necessary remarks upon his character; by shewing who he is, and of what family, who so readily begins the hateful work of personal abuse; who presumes to censure some of my expressions, though he himself hath uttered what no man of modest merit could have ventured to pronounce. No! had one of the awful judges of the shades impeached me, as an Æacus, or a Rhadamanthus, or a Minos, and not this babbling sycophant, this wretched, hackneyed scrivener, he could have used no such language, he could have searched for no such insolent expressions, no such theatrical exclamations, as you have now heard from this man.—“O Earth! and thou Sun! O Virtue!” And again, those pompous invocations,—“Prudence! Erudition! that teachest us the just distinction between good and evil!”—Virtue! thou miscreant! what communion can Virtue hold with thee or thine? What acquaintance hast thou with such things? How didst thou acquire it? By what right canst thou assume it? And what pretensions hast thou to speak of Erudition? Not a man of those who really possess it could thus presume to speak of his own accomplishments. Nay, were they mentioned by another, he would blush. But they who, like you, are strangers to it, and yet so stupid as to affect it, do but wound our ears, when they utter their presumption, never acquire the character for which they labour.—And here, I hesitate, not for want of matter to urge against you and your family, but because I am in doubt where to begin. Shall I first say, how your father Tromes was loaded with his chain and log, when a slave to Elpias, who taught grammar at the temple of Theseus? Or, how your mother, by those marriages daily repeated, in her cell near the hero Calamites,¹ maintained this noble figure, this accomplished actor of third characters? Or, how Phormio, the piper in our navy, the slave of Dion, raised her up from this honourable

¹ *i.e.*, near the chapel dedicated to this hero, or near the place where his statue was erected.

employment? No! I call the gods to witness, that I fear to mention what is suited to your character, lest I should be betrayed into a language unbecoming my own. Let these things be then buried in silence; and let me proceed directly to the actions of his own life; for the person now before you is not of ordinary rank, but eminent,—yes, as an object of public execration. It is but lately,—lately, I say, but yesterday, that he commenced at once a citizen and a speaker. By the help of two additional syllables, he transformed his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and dignified his mother with the stately name of Glaucothea.¹ And now, observe the ingratitude and malignity of his nature. Though raised by your favour from slavery to freedom, from beggary to affluence, far from retaining the least affection to his country, he hath hired himself to oppose our interests. As to those parts of his conduct, where his disaffection may be at all disputable, I pass them over: but what he evidently and incontestably committed, as an agent to our enemies, this I must recal to view.

—Who knows not the banished Antipho? He who promised Philip to set fire to our arsenal, and, for this purpose, came back to Athens. And, when I had seized him in his concealment at the Piræus, when I produced him to the assembly, so effectual was the violence of this railer, so prevalent were his clamours,—that “my actions were not to be tolerated in a free government.”—“I insulted the misfortunes of my fellow-citizens.”—“I forced into their houses without authority:”—That this man was suffered to escape unsentenced. And, had not the court of Areopagus been informed of the transaction, had they not perceived your error, an error so dangerous on so critical an occasion; had they not pursued this man; had they not once more seized, and brought him before you, criminal as he was, he must have been snatched from justice, and, instead of meeting the punishment due to his offences, (thanks to this pompous speaker,) retired in security

¹ The original adds, *who, every one knows, was called Empusa, &c. [i.e. Hag or Spectre.]* This, with the cause assigned, hath been *purposely* omitted in the translation.

But, happily, you gave him the torture, and you punished him with death: a punishment which this his advocate should have suffered. And, so justly did the council of Areopagus conceive of his conduct, upon this occasion, that, when, influenced by the same error which so often proved fatal to your interests, you had appointed him a pleader for your privileges in the temple of Delos, this council, to whom your appointment was referred, and who were to ratify the nomination, instantly rejected this man as a traitor, and appointed Hyperides to plead. On this occasion, were their suffrages given solemnly at the altar; and not one suffrage could this miscreant obtain. To prove this, call the witnesses.

The Witnesses.

“Callias, Zeno, Cleon, and Demonicus, in the name of all the Areopagites, testify in behalf of Demosthenes, that, at the time when the people had chosen Æschines as advocate for the rights of Athens in the temple of Delos, before the Amphictyons, we in full council determined that Hyperides was more worthy to speak for the state. And Hyperides was accordingly commissioned.”

Thus, by rejecting this man, when on the point of proceeding on his commission, and by substituting another, the council did in effect declare him a traitor and an enemy to Athens. Here then we have a fact which clearly marks the public conduct of this noble personage: such a fact as differs widely from those he hath urged against me. One more there is, not to be forgotten. When Python the Byzantine came on his embassy from Philip; and came attended by commissioners from all the several powers in league with Macedon; as if to expose us, as if to bring witnesses of our injustice; then did I stand forth; and instead of submitting to the insolence of Python, instead of yielding to the torrent of his abuse against the state; I retorted the charge; I supported the rights of Athens. And with such powerful evidence did I demonstrate the injurious conduct of our enemy, that his own confederates were themselves forced to rise, and to confess it. But Æschines was the great co-adjutor of this man. He gave testimony

against his country: and falsely too. Nor did he stop here. In some time after this transaction, he held, and was detected in his intercourse with Anaxinus the spy, at the house of Thraso. And surely the man who holds his private interviews, who confers with an agent of our enemies, is himself a spy, and an enemy to his country.—To prove my allegations, call the witnesses.

The Witnesses.

“Celedemus, Cleon, and Hyperides, being duly sworn, testify in behalf of Demosthenes, that, to their knowledge, Æschines repaired to the house of Thraso, at an unseasonable hour of the night, and there held conference with Anaxinus legally convicted of being Philip’s spy. This deposition was signed in the archonship of Nicias, the third day of the month Hecatombæon.”

Numberless other articles I could urge against him; but I suppress them. For the fact is this: I might display the many instances, in which his conduct, during these periods, was equally calculated to serve our enemies, and to indulge his malice against me. But so slight are the impressions which such things make on your minds, that they are not even remembered, much less received with due resentment. Nay, so dangerous a custom hath prevailed, that you have granted full liberty to every man who pleased, to supplant and to malign your faithful counsellor: thus exchanging the real welfare of your country, for the pleasure of listening to personal abuse. Hence is it ever easier and less dangerous for the servile tool of our enemies to earn his bribes, than for him to serve the state, who hath attached himself to your interests.—That he manifestly supported the cause of Philip, previous to the commencement of hostilities, shocking as it is, (yes! I call heaven and earth to witness! for it was an opposition to his country,) yet forgive him, if you please, forgive him this. But when this prince avowedly made prizes of our ships, when the Chersonesus was plundered by his troops, when he marched in person into Attica, when affairs were no longer doubtful, but the war raged at our very gates; then was this slanderer

entirely inactive, no instance of his zeal can this theatrical ranter show, not one decree of any import, great or small, was ever framed by Æschines, in defense of your interests. If he denies this, let him break in upon the time allowed for my defence, and let him produce such decree. No; he cannot!—He is, therefore, necessarily reduced to this alternative. He must acknowledge, either that the measures I proposed on that occasion were not liable to censure, as he himself never offered to suggest any other measures; or that his attachment to our enemies prevented him from directing us to some better course.—But was he thus silent, was he thus inactive, when there was an opportunity of injuring his country? On this occasion, no man could be heard, but Æschines.

And, yet, the indulgence of the state may possibly endure the other instances of his clandestine conduct; but one there is, my countrymen; one act of his, that crowns all his former treasons. A subject on which he hath exhausted his whole artifice, in a tedious narrative of decrees about the Locrians of Amphissa, as if to pervert the truth. But this cannot be! impossible! no, nor shall this profusion of words ever wash away the stain of guilt from thy conduct upon this occasion.—And here, and in your presence, ye Athenians, I invoke all the deities of heaven, all the divine guardians of our country, and, above all, the Pythian Apollo, tutelary god of Athens. I beseech these powers to grant me safety and prosperity, as I now speak the truth, as I at first publicly spake the truth, from the moment that I found the miscreant engaging in this transaction. For he could not escape my notice: no, I instantly detected him.—But, if to indulge my spleen, if from personal animosity, I produce a false charge against him; may these gods blast my hopes of happiness!—But, why this solemnity of imprecation? Why all this vehemence?—The reason is this. We have the authentic records in our archives, which prove my charge: you yourselves remember the transactions clearly: and, yet, I have my fears, that he may be deemed an instrument too mean for such great mischiefs as he hath really effected. This was the case, when he brought down ruin upon the wretched Phocians, by the false assurances which he gave in our assembly. For, as to the Amphyssæan

war, which opened the gates of Elatæa to our enemy, which gave him the command of the Amphictyonic army, and at once overturned the fortune of Greece; here stands the great agent in this black design, the sole cause of all the grievous calamities we endured. When I attested this in the assembly; when I exclaimed with all my powers, "You are bringing an enemy to our gates; yes, Æschines, the whole Amphictyonic body to fall upon us;" his co-adjutors at once silenced me; while others stood confounded at the assertion, and regarded it as a groundless charge, the effect of personal animosity.—But, since you were at that time prevented from receiving the important information, attend, now, my countrymen! hear the true nature of this whole transaction; the secret motives which produced, and the contrivance which effected it. So shall you discover a scheme well concerted, receive new and useful lights into the history of public affairs, and see what deep designs the heart of Philip could conceive.

This prince saw no means of terminating his war with Athens, no resource, unless he were to arm the Thebans and Thessalians against us. No resource, I say: for, altho' the conduct of your generals had been scandalous and unsuccessful, yet the war itself, and the vigilance of our cruisers, had involved him in numberless distresses; as he found it equally impracticable to export the produce of his kingdom, and to supply his own demands, by importation. He was not, at that time, superior to us at sea: nor could he penetrate into Attica by land, while the Thessalians refused to follow him, and the Thebans denied him a passage through their territory. Victorious, therefore, as he proved against your generals; (such as you employed;—of that I shall not speak); yet, still, the situation of his kingdom, and the circumstances, on each side, reduced him, in the event, to great distress. He knew that his private interest could not obtain the least regard, either from Thebes or Thessaly, as a motive for engaging in hostilities against us: but, could he once be admitted to lead their forces in some common cause of their's, he trusted to the united power of fraud and flattery, and was confident of success. His scheme, then, was this; and observe how well it was concerted:—to embroil the Amphictyons in a war, by

raising dissensions in their general assembly. For, in such a war, he presumed that he should soon be wanted. And now, were he to choose the instrument of this design, either from his own deputies, or from those of his confederates, this must awaken suspicion: the Thebans, and Thessalians, and all the states must be roused to strictest vigilance. But could he obtain an Athenian for his agent, a citizen of that state which avowedly opposed him, this must secure him from detection. Thus he reasoned; and thus was the event. How then was this point gained? By bribing Æschines. Here stands the man, who seized the advantage of that inattention, that unsuspecting confidence, which you too frequently discover upon such occasions; was proposed as one of our representatives, and, by the few voices of a faction, confirmed in this commission. Thus invested with the august authority of his state, he repairs to the general council; and, regardless of all other concerns, applies himself directly to the service for which he had received his wages. He frames his specious harangues, he delivers his legendary tale of the Cyrrhæan plain, and its consecration; and prevails on the hieromnemons (men unexperienced in the artifices of a speaker, men, whose views never were extended beyond the present moment) to decree that a survey should be had of this district, which the people of Amphissa claimed and occupied as their own; but which this man now asserted to be sacred ground: not provoked by any insolence of the Locrians, by any fine which they imposed upon our state; as he now pretends;—but falsely;—as I shall convince you by one undoubted proof. Unless citation had been regularly issued, it was impossible for the Locrians to have commenced any suit against our state. Who then cited you? Produce the record of this citation. Name the man who can inform us of it: let him appear. No; you cannot. Your pretence therefore is false and groundless.

The Amphictyons, then, having proceeded to the survey of this district, agreeably to his direction, were assaulted by the Locrians, with a violence which had well nigh proved fatal to them all. Some of the hieromnemons were even made prisoners. And when the ferment became general, and war was denounced against the Amphisæans, Cottyphus was at

first chosen to lead the Amphictyonic army. But when some states refused to obey his summons, and those who did obey, refused to act; in the next general council, Philip was appointed to the command. So effectual was the influence of his agents, the old traitors of Thessaly, and those of other states. Nor did their allegations want a fair and specious colour. "Either we must raise a subsidy," said they, "maintain a mercenary army, and fine those people who refuse their quota; or we must choose him general." Need I say more? He was chosen. His forces were collected with the utmost diligence: he marched, as if towards Cyrrha. But now,—farewell, at once, to all regard either to the Cyrrhæans or the Locrians! He seizes Elatæa.¹—Had not the Thebans, then, instantly repented, and united with our state, the whole force of this invasion must have fallen, like a thunder-storm, on Athens. But, in this critical conjuncture, they started up and stopped his progress: a blessing which you owe to some gracious divinity, who then defended us; and, under him, to me, as far as one man could be the instrument of such a blessing.—Give me the decrees. Produce the date of each transaction. Thus shall you see what infinite confusion this abandoned wretch could raise, and yet escape unpunished. Read the decrees.

The Decree of the Amphictyons.

"In the pontificate of Clinagoras. At the general assembly of Amphictyons, held in the spring, it is RESOLVED by the PYLAGORÆ, and assessors in the said assembly, that, whereas the people of Amphissa continue to profane the consecrated lands, and do at this time actually occupy them, by tillage and pasture,—the Pylagoræ and assessors shall repair to the said lands, and determine the boundaries by pillars; strictly enjoining the people of Amphissa to cease from such violation for the future."

¹ Which by its situation commanded the territory of Attica and Bœotia, so as to awe both Thebes and Athens.—But we shall immediately learn the policy of this step from Demosthenes himself; and the cause of that dreadful consternation it raised in Athens, which the speaker is just now to paint in such lively colours.

Another Decree.

"In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general assembly held in the spring. Whereas the people of Amphissa have cantoned out the consecrated lands, have occupied them by tillage and pasture, and, when summoned to desist from such profanation, rose up in arms, and forcibly repelled the general council of Greece, wounding some of the members, and particularly Cottyphus the Arcadian general of the Amphictyons; —It is therefore RESOLVED by the Pylagoræ, the assessors, and the general assembly, that a deputation shall be sent to Philip king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrage of the wretched Amphissæans; and further to declare that he is constituted by all the Greeks, a member of the council of Amphictyons, general and commander of their forces; with full and unlimited powers."

Read now the date of these transactions; for they correspond exactly with the time in which he acted as our representative.

The Date.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF MNESITHIDES, THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH ANTHESTERION.

Give me the letter, which, when the Thebans had refused to concur with him, Philip sent to his confederates in Peloponnesus. This will fully prove that the real motive of this enterprize was studiously concealed, I mean his design against Greece, his schemes against Thebes and Athens; while he affected but to execute the orders of the Amphictyonic council: a pretence, for which he was indebted to this man.—Read.

The Letter.

"PHILIP King of Macedon, to the magistrates and counsellors of the confederated people of Peloponnesus, health.

"WHEREAS the Locri, called Ozolæ, inhabitants of Amphissa, profanely commit outrages on the temple of Apollo in Delphi, and in an hostile manner invade, and make depreda-

tions in, the sacred territory; know ye, that we have resolved, in conjunction with you, to assert the rights of the god, and to oppose those impious wretches, who have thus presumed to violate all that is accounted sacred among men. Do you, therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, with provisions for forty days, within this present month called by us Loüs, by the Athenians, Boedromion, and, by the Corinthians, Panemus, Such as attend us shall be duly consulted, and all measures pursued with their concurrence; they who refuse obedience to these orders, shall be punished. Farewel."

You see with what caution he keeps his real purpose concealed; how he flies for shelter to the acts of the Amphictyons. And who was the man that procured him this subterfuge? Who gave him such plausible pretences? Who was the great author of all our calamities? Was it not this man?—Yet, mistake me not, Athenians; when our public calamities are the subject of your conversation, say not that we owe them entirely to a single person. No, not to one; let heaven and earth bear witness! but to many abandoned traitors in the several states, in which number, he stands distinguished: he, whom, if no regards controuled me, I should not scruple to pronounce the accursed destroyer of persons, places, cities, all that were involved in the general overthrow. For the sower of the seed is surely the author of the whole harvest of mischief. Astonishing indeed it is, that you can behold him, and not instantly turn away with horror from an object so detestable. But this is the effect of that thick cloud, in which the truth has lain concealed.

And thus, from touching slightly on the designs which he pursued against his country, I am led naturally to those measures in which I was myself engaged, in opposition to such traitorous designs. These demand our attention, for various reasons; chiefly, because it would be shameful, when I have laboured in your service with indefatigable zeal, to refuse to hear my services recounted.—No sooner then did I perceive the Thebans, I might have said the Athenians also, deceived so effectually by those agents which Philip's gold had secured in each state, as to look with indifference upon an

object equally formidable to both, I mean the increasing power of this prince: no sooner did I see them resign all thoughts of guarding against his progress; and, in defiance of their common danger, ready to encounter each other, in mutual enmity; than I roused all my vigilance, exerted my incessant efforts, to prevent such rupture. This I considered as a real service to my country; and not upon my own judgment only: I had the authority of Aristophon and Eubulus to confirm me: men who had ever laboured to effect this scheme of union between the two states: (however violent their opposition upon other points, in this they ever were agreed:) men who, when living, were persecuted by thy abject flattery; yet now, when they are no more, thou presumest to arraign their conduct. So lost art thou to shame! Yes, thou scandal to humanity! for whatever is urged against me, with respect to Thebes, affects their characters much more than mine. They had declared loudly for this alliance long before it was proposed by me.—But I have digressed too far.—When Æschines had effected this Amphisæan war: when his traitorous co-adjutors had possessed our minds with animosity against the Thebans, the great secret of that confusion raised among the states was now discovered. Philip marched directly to attack us. And, had we not been suddenly awakened to a vigorous exertion of our powers, the danger must have overwhelmed us; so far had these men carried on their desperate design.—But, to form a perfect judgment of the terms on which we then stood with Thebes, consult your own decrees, and the answers received on this occasion.—Take them.—Read.

A Decree.

“IN the archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion, the Erechthian tribe presiding, the senate and generals came to the following resolution:

“WHEREAS Philip hath possessed himself of some adjacent cities, and demolished others, and is actually preparing to make an inroad into Attica, (in manifest contempt of his engagements) and to rescind all his late treaties and obligations, without the least regard to public faith: It is RESOLVED,

that ambassadors shall be sent to confer with him, and to exhort him to preserve that harmony, and to adhere to those engagements which have hitherto subsisted between us: at least, that he may grant the state time to deliberate, and make a truce, till the month Thargelion.—Simus, Euthydemus, and Bulagoras, are elected from the senate for this commission.”

Another Decree.

“IN the archonship of Heropythus, the last day of the month Munichion:—at the motion of the pole-march:

“WHEREAS Philip is exerting his most strenuous efforts to alienate the Thebans from us, and prepares to march with all his army to the frontiers of Attica, in direct violation of the treaty now subsisting between us:—It is RESOLVED by the senate and people of Athens, that an herald and ambassadors be sent to him, who shall require and demand a cessation of hostilities, that the people may have an opportunity of deliberating on this exigency; as at present they are inclined to judge that the honour of the state cannot be supported but by an extraordinary and vigorous opposition. Nearchus and Polycrates are chosen for this commission from the senate; and Eunomus from the people, in quality of herald.”

Now read the answer.

Philip's Answer to the Athenians.

“PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, health!

“How you have been affected towards us from the beginning, we are by no means ignorant: nor of that assiduity with which you have laboured to bring over to your party the Thessalians, the Thebans, and even the Bœotians. As these people had just ideas of their real interests, and have refused to submit to your direction, when you find yourselves disappointed, you send heralds and ambassadors to us, to put us in mind of former treaties; and you demand a truce, although you have in no one instance felt the force of our arms. I, on my part, have admitted your ambassadors to an audience. I

agree to your demands, and am ready to grant the cessation which you require, provided that you remove your evil counsellors, and brand them with the infamy which they so justly merit. Farewel."

The Answer to the Thebans.

"PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Thebes, health.

"I have received your letter, wherein you take notice of the harmony and peace subsisting between us. I am informed that the Athenians have been assiduous in their solicitations, to prevail upon you to comply with them in those demands which they have lately made. I must confess I formerly imagined that I had discovered some dispositions in your state, to be influenced by their promises, and to acquiesce in their measures: but now I have received full assurances of your attachment to us, and of your resolutions to live in peace, rather than to submit to the guidance of foreign counsels. I feel the sincerest satisfaction, and highly applaud your conduct; and more particularly as, by your adherence to us, you have, in the most effectual manner, provided for your interests and safety. Persevere in the same sentiments, and, in a short time, I hope you will experience their good effects. Farewel."

Thus, successful in confirming the mutual separation of our states, and elevated by these decrees and these replies, Philip now leads his forces forward, and seizes Elatæa: presuming that, at all events, Athens and Thebes never could unite. You are no strangers to the confusion which this event raised within these walls. Yet permit me to relate some few striking circumstances of our own consternation.—It was evening. A courier arrived, and, repairing to the presidents of the senate, informed them that Elatæa was taken. In a moment some started from supper;¹ ran to the public place; drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to their sheds:² Some sent round to call

¹ *i.e.* From the table provided at the expense of the public for such citizens as had been distinguished by their services and merits.

² To clear the place for an assembly; in their confusion and impatience they took the speediest and most violent method.

the generals; others clamoured for the trumpeter.¹ Thus was the city one scene of tumult.—The next morning, by dawn of day, the presidents summoned the senate. The people were instantly collected; and, before any regular authority could convene their assembly, the whole body of citizens had taken their places above. Then, the senate entered; the presidents reported their advices, and produced the courier. He repeated his intelligence. The herald then asked in form, WHO CHOOSES TO SPEAK? All was silence. The invitation was frequently repeated: still no man rose; though the generals, though the ordinary speakers were all present; though the voice of Athens then called on some man to speak and save her. For surely the regular and legal proclamation of the herald may be fairly deemed the voice of Athens.—If an honest solicitude for the preservation of the state had, on this occasion, been sufficient to call forth a speaker; then, my countrymen, ye must have all arisen and crowded to the gallery: for well I know, this honest solicitude had full possession of your hearts. If wealth had obliged a man to speak, the THREE HUNDRED,² must have risen. If patriot zeal and wealth united were the qualification necessary for the speaker, then should we have heard those generous citizens, whose beneficence was afterwards displayed so nobly in the service of the state: for their beneficence proceeded from this union of wealth and patriot zeal. But the occasion, the great day, it seems, called not only for a well-affected and an affluent citizen, but for the man who had traced these affairs to their very source; who had formed the exactest judgment of Philip's motives, of his secret intentions, in this his conduct. He who was not perfectly informed of these, he who had not watched the whole progress of his actions with consummate vigilance; however zealously affected to the state, however blest with wealth, was in nowise better qualified to conceive or to propose the measures, which your interests demanded, on an

¹ Possibly to summon the assembly on this extraordinary occasion, when there was no leisure nor opportunity for the regular and usual method of convening the citizens.

² The body of richer citizens who were to advance money for the exigencies of the state.

occasion so critical. On that day then I was the man who stood forth. And the counsels I then proposed may now merit your attention, on a double account : first to convince you that, of all your leaders and ministers, I was the only one who maintained the post of a zealous patriot in your extremity, whose words and actions were devoted to your service, in the midst of public consternation : and, secondly, to enable you to judge more clearly of my other actions, by granting a little time to this.—My speech then was thus :

“They who are thrown into all this confusion, from an opinion that the Thebans are gained over to the interests of Philip, seem to me entirely ignorant of the present state of affairs. Were this the case, I am convinced ye would now hear, not that he was at Elataæ, but on our very frontier. His intent, (I clearly see it) in seizing this post, is to facilitate his schemes in Thebes. Attend, and I shall now explain the circumstances of that state. Those of its citizens, whom his gold could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all at his devotion ; those, who at first opposed, and continue to oppose him, he finds incapable of being wrought upon. What then is his design ? Why hath he seized Elataæ ?—That, by drawing up his forces, and displaying his powers upon the borders of Thebes, he may inspire his adherents with confidence and elevation, and strike such terror into his adversaries, that fear, or force, may drive them into those measures they have hitherto opposed. If then we are resolved, in this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of every unkindness we may have received from the Thebans, if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged them on the side of our enemy, we shall, in the first place, act agreeably to Philip’s warmest wishes ; and then I am apprehensive, that the party who now oppose him may be brought over to his interest, the whole city declare unanimously in his favour, and Thebes and Macedon fall with their united force on Attica.—Grant the due attention to what I shall propose ; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil ; and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers now impending over the state. What then

do I propose?—First shake off that terror which hath possessed your minds, and, instead of fearing for yourselves, fear for the Thebans: they are more immediately exposed, and must be the first to feel the danger. In the next place, let all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you too are assembled in arms; and your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert their rights: when they are assured, that, as they who have sold their country to the Macedonian, have a force at Elataæ to support them, you too stand prepared to support their antagonists. I recommend it, in the last place, that you nominate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, shall have full authority to determine the time, and all other circumstances of this march. When these ambassadors shall arrive at Thebes, how are they to conduct this great affair? This is a point worthy your most serious attention.—Make no demands at all of the Thebans: at this juncture, it would be dishonourable. Assure them that your forces are ready, and but wait their orders, to march to their support: as you are deeply affected by their danger, and have been so happy as to foresee, and to guard against it. If they are prevailed on to embrace these overtures, we shall effectuate our great purpose, and act with a dignity worthy of our state; but, should it happen that we are not so successful, whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves they shall be imputed; while your conduct shall appear, in no one instance, inconsistent with the honour and renown of Athens.”

These, and other like particulars, did I suggest. I came down amidst the universal applause of the assembly, without one word of opposition or dissent. Nor did I thus speak, without proposing my decree in form; nor did I propose my decree, without proceeding on the embassy; nor did I proceed on the embassy, without prevailing on the Thebans. From first to last, my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the state. Produce the decree made on this occasion. Say, Æschines, what character are we to ascribe to you, on that great day? And, in what light am I to be con-

sidered? As a Battalus, the odious name your scorn and malice have given me? And you, a hero of no ordinary rank, a dramatic hero, a Cresphontes, a Creon, or an Oenomäus, the character in which your vile performance was punished with such heavy stripes? On that day, our country had full proof that I, the Battalus, could perform more worthy services than you, the Oenomäus. You performed no services at all: I discharged the duty of a faithful citizen in the amplest manner.

The Decree.

“IN the Archonship of Nausicles, the Aiantidian tribe presiding, on the sixteenth day of the month Scirrophorion, Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, proposed this decree.

“WHEREAS, Philip, king of the Macedonians, hath, in various times past, violated the treaty of peace subsisting between him and the state of Athens, in open contempt of his most solemn engagements, and of all that is esteemed sacred in Greece; possessing himself of cities to which he had no claim or pretensions, reducing some to slavery that were under the Athenian jurisdiction; and this, without any previous injury committed on the part of Athens. And, whereas he, at this time, perseveres in his outrages and cruelty, imposing his garrisons on the cities of Greece, subverting their constitutions, enslaving their inhabitants, and razing their walls; in some, dispossessing the Greeks, and establishing barbarians; abandoning the temples and sepulchres to their inhuman rage, (actions agreeable to his country and his manners,) insolent in his present fortune, and forgetful of that mean origin, from whence he hath arisen to this unexpected power. And, whereas, while the Athenian people beheld him extending his dominion over states and countries like his own, barbarous and detached from Greece, they deemed themselves little affected, or injured by such conquests; but now, when Grecian cities are insulted by his arms, or totally subverted, they justly conceive it would be unwarrantable and unworthy of the glory of their illustrious ancestors, to look on with indifference, while the

Greeks are thus reduced to slavery.—For these reasons, the SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, (with due veneration to the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore; and with due attention to the virtue of their ancestors, to whom the general liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the particular interest of their own state,) have RESOLVED,

“That a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be sent to sea, (the admiral to cruise within the streights of Thermopylæ:) That the generals and commanders, both of horse and foot, shall march with their respective forces to Eleusis: That ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece; and particularly to the Thebans, as the present situation of Philip threatens their confines more immediately: That these ambassadors shall be instructed to exhort them not to be terrified by Philip, but to exert themselves in defence of their own liberty, and that of Greece; to assure them, that the people of Athens, far from harbouring the least resentment, on account of any former differences which might have alienated their states from each other, are ready to support them with all their powers, their treasures, their forces and their arms; well knowing that, to contend for sovereignty among themselves, is an honour to the Greeks; but to be commanded by a foreigner, or to suffer him to wrest from them their superiority, is unworthy of the Grecian dignity, and the glorious actions of their ancestors:—To assure them, that the Athenian people do not look on those of Thebes as aliens, but as kinsmen and countrymen; that the good offices conferred on Thebes, by their progenitors, are ever fresh in their memory, who restored the descendants of Hercules to their hereditary dominions, from which they had been expelled by the Peloponnesians, and, by force of arms, subdued all those who opposed themselves to that illustrious family; who kindly entertained Oedipus and his adherents, in the time of their calamity; and who have transmitted many other monuments of their affection and respect to Thebes:—That the people of Athens, therefore, will not, at this conjuncture, desert the cause of Thebes and Greece; but are ready to enter into engagements, defensive and offensive, with the Thebans, cemented and confirmed by a mutual liberty of intermarriage,

and by the oaths of each party, tendered and accepted with all due solemnity. The ambassadors chosen on this occasion are, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Mnesithides, Democrates, and Calleschrus."

Here was the foundation laid, here was the first establishment of our interest in Thebes. Hitherto the traitors had been too successful; and all was animosity, aversion, and suspicion, between the cities. But, by this decree, that danger which hung lowering over our state, was in an instant dissipated like a vapour.—And surely it was the duty of an honest citizen, if he had any better measures to propose, to have declared them publicly, not to have cavilled now. For the counsellor and the sycophant are characters entirely different in every particular; but in this are they more especially distinguished from each other, that the one fairly declares his opinion, previous to the event; and makes himself accountable to those he hath influenced, to fortune, to the times, to the world: while the other is silent when he ought to speak; but when some melancholy accident hath happened, he dwells on this with the most invidious censure. That was the time (I repeat it) for a man sincerely attached to his country, and to truth. Yet, such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause, that if any man can, now, point out a better course, nay, if there be any course at all, but that which I pursued, I shall confess myself criminal; for if any more expedient conduct hath been now discovered, I allow that it ought not to have escaped me. But if there neither is, nor was, nor can be such a conduct pointed out, no, not at this day, what was the part of your minister? was it not to choose the best of such measures as occurred; of such as were really in his power? And this I did (*Æschines!*) when the herald asked in due form, "who chooses to address the people?" Not "who will inveigh against things past?" Not "who will answer for things to come?" In this juncture you kept your seat in the assembly without uttering one word. I rose up and spoke.—Well, though you were then silent, yet, now, explain your sentiments. Say, what expedient was there, which I should have devised? What favourable juncture was lost to the state, by my means? What alliance, what scheme of conduct was there,

to which I should have rather led my fellow-citizens? Not that the time once elapsed is ever made the subject of debate: For that time, no man ever suggests expedients. It is the coming, or the present juncture which demands the offices of a counsellor. And in that juncture, when some of our misfortunes, it seems, were coming on, some were already present, consider my intention; do not point your malice at the event. The final issue of all human actions depends on God. Do not then impute it as my offence, that Philip was victorious in the battle. This is an event determined by God, not by me. Let it be proved that I did not take every precaution which human prudence could suggest; that I did not exert myself with integrity, with assiduity, with toil even greater than my strength; that the conduct I pursued was not noble, was not worthy of the state, was not necessary: let this be proved, and then accuse me. But, if a sudden clap of thunder, if a furious tempest burst at once upon us, and laid prostrate not our state alone, but every state in Greece:—What then? Am I to be accused? With equal justice might the trader, who sends out his vessel equipped and furnished for a voyage, be deemed guilty of her wreck, when she had encountered a storm so violent, as to indamage, nay, to tear down her tackle. He might plead thus, “I was not pilot in the voyage.” Nor was I commander of your army; nor I master of Fortune. She it is who commands the world.—And let this be duly weighed: If, when the Thebans engaged on our side, we were yet fated to this calamity; what were we to expect, if they had not only been detached from us, but united with our enemy, in compliance with all his urgent solicitations? If, when the armies fought at a distance of three days march from Attica, such danger and consternation fell on this city, what if the defeat had happened in our own territory? Think ye that we could have stood? That we could have assembled here? That we could have breathed? The respite of one day (at least of two or three) is oftentimes of signal moment to the preservation of a people.—In the other case—But I cannot bear to mention what we must have suffered, if this state had not been protected by the favour of some god, and the interposition of this alliance, the perpetual subject (Æschines) of your clamorous malice.

All this particular discussion is addressed to you, ye JUDGES, and to those auditors who stand round the tribunal. As to this miscreant, he needs but one short and plain reply. If you, Æschines, were the only man among us who foresaw the issue; it was your duty to have foretold it to your countrymen: if you did not foresee it, you are as accountable for such ignorance as any other citizen. What better right then have you to urge this as a crime against me, than I, to accuse you upon the same occasion? When, at this juncture, not to mention others, I approved myself so far a better citizen than you, as I was entirely devoted to what appeared the true interest of my country; not nicely weighing, not once considering my private danger: while you never proposed any better measures; else we had adopted these: nor, in the prosecution of these, were we assisted by any services of your's. No, the event discovered, that your conduct had been such as the basest, the most inveterate enemy to this state must have pursued.—And, observable indeed it is, that at the very time when Aristratus at Naxus, and Aristoläus at Thassus, equally the avowed foes of Athens, are harrassing the Athenian partisans by prosecutions; here, Æschines hath brought his accusation against Demosthenes. But the man who derives his consequence from the calamities of Greece, should, rather, meet his own punishment, than stand up to prosecute another: the man whose interests are advanced by conjunctures most favourable to those of our public enemies, can never, surely, be a friend to our country. And, that this is your case, your life, your actions, the measures you have pursued, the measures you have declined, all demonstrate. Is there any thing effected, which promises advantage to the state? Æschines is mute. Are we crost by an untoward accident? Æschines arises. Just as our old sprains and fractures again become sensible, when any malady hath attacked our bodies.

But, since he hath insisted so much upon the event, I shall hazard a bold assertion. But, in the name of Heaven, let it not be deemed extravagant: let it be weighed with candour. I say then, that had we all known what fortune was to attend our efforts; had we all foreseen the final issue; had you foretold it, Æschines; had you bellowed out your terrible denun-

ciations; (you whose voice was never heard); yet, even in such a case, must this city have pursued the very same conduct, if she had retained a thought of glory, of her ancestors, or of future times. For, thus, she could only have been deemed unfortunate in her attempts: and misfortunes are the lot of all men, whenever it may please Heaven to inflict them. But if that state which once claimed the first rank in Greece, had resigned this rank, in time of danger, she had incurred the censure of betraying the whole nation to the enemy.—If we had indeed given up those points, without one blow, for which our fathers encountered every peril, who would not have spurned you with scorn? *You, the author of such conduct*, not the state, or me? In the name of Heaven, say with what face could we have met those foreigners who sometimes visit us, if such scandalous supineness on our part had brought affairs to their present situation? If Philip had been chosen general of the Grecian army, and some other state had drawn the sword again this insidious nomination? And fought the battle, unassisted by the Athenians, that people who, in ancient times, never preferred inglorious security to honourable danger? What part of Greece, what part of the barbarian world has not heard, that the Thebans, in their period of success, that the Lacedæmonians, whose power was older and more extensive, that the king of Persia, would have cheerfully and joyfully consented that this state should enjoy her own dominions, together with an accession of territory ample as her wishes, upon this condition, that she should receive law, and suffer another state to preside in Greece? But, to Athenians, this was a condition unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature. Athens never was once known to live in a slavish, though a secure obedience to unjust and arbitrary power. No: our whole history is one series of noble contests for pre-eminence; the whole period of our existence hath been spent in braving dangers, for the sake of glory and renown. And so highly do you esteem such conduct, so consonant to the Athenian character, that those of your ancestors who were most distinguished in the pursuit of it, are ever the most favourite objects of your praise. And with reason. For who can reflect without astonishment upon

the magnanimity of those men, who resigned their lands, gave up their city and embarked in their ships, to avoid the odious state of subjection? Who chose Themistocles, the adviser of this conduct, to command their forces: and, when Crysilus proposed that they should yield to the terms prescribed, stoned him to death? Nay, the public indignation was not yet allayed. Your very wives inflicted the same vengeance on his wife. For the Athenians of that day looked out for no speaker, no general to procure them a state of prosperous slavery. They had the spirit to reject even life, unless they were allowed to enjoy that life in freedom. For it was a principle fixed deeply in every breast, that man was not born to his parents only, but to his country. And mark the distinction. He who regards himself as born only to his parents, waits in passive submission for the hour of his natural dissolution. He who considers that he is the child of his country also, is prepared to meet his fate freely, rather than behold that country reduced to vassalage: and thinks those insults and disgraces which he must meet, in a state enslaved, much more terrible than death. Should I then attempt to assert, that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of our ancestors, I should meet the just resentment of every hearer. No: it is my point to shew, that such sentiments are properly your own; that they were the sentiments of my country, long before my days. I claim but my share of merit, in having acted on such principles, in every part of my administration. He then who condemns every part of my administration, he who directs you to treat me with severity, as one who hath involved the state in terrors and dangers, while he labours to deprive me of present honour, robs you of the applause of all posterity. For if you now pronounce, that, as my public conduct hath not been right, Ctesiphon must stand condemned, it must be thought that you yourselves have acted wrong, not that you owe your present state to the caprice of fortune.—But it cannot be! No, my countrymen! it cannot be that you have acted wrong, in encountering danger bravely, for the liberty and the safety of all Greece. No! by those generous souls of ancient times, who were exposed at Marathon! By those who stood arrayed at Plataea! By those who encountered the Persian fleet at Salamis, who fought at

Artemisium! By all those illustrious sons of Athens, whose remains lie deposited in the public monuments! All of whom received the same honourable interment from their country: not those only who prevailed, not those only who were victorious.—And with reason. What was the part of gallant men they all performed? their success was such as the Supreme Director of the world dispensed to each.

—Well then, thou miscreant, thou abject scrivener, thou who, to rob me of the honours and the affections of these my countrymen, talkest of battles, of trophies, of brave deeds of old. And, what are these, or any of these, to the present cause? Say, thou vile player, when I assumed the character of a public counsellor, and, on an object so important as the natural pre-eminence of my country, with what principles should I have arisen to speak? Those of suggesting measures unworthy of my countrymen? Then must I have met that death I merited. And, when the interests of the state come before you, your minds, my fellow-citizens, should be possessed with an extraordinary degree of elevation, beyond what is necessary in private causes. When these are to be decided, you have only to consider the ordinary transactions of the world, the tenour of your laws, and the nature of private facts. But, in questions of state, you are to look up to your illustrious ancestors; and every judge is to suppose, that, with the symbols of his authority, he is also invested with the high character of his country. Thus, and thus only, shall he determine on such questions, in a manner worthy of these his ancestors.

But I have been so transported by mentioning the acts of your predecessors, that there are some decrees and some transactions that have escaped me. I return, then, to the points from whence I thus digressed. Upon our arrival at Thebes, we there found the ambassadors of Philip, those of the Thes-salians and the other confederates, all assembled; our friends in terror, his party elevated. That this is not asserted merely to serve my present purpose, I appeal to that letter which we, the ambassadors, instantly dispatched on this occasion. Yet, so transcendent is the virulence of this man, that, if, in any instance, our designs have been effectual, he ascribes it to the juncture of affairs, not to me: in every instance where they

have been defeated, he charges all to me, and to my evil genius. It seems then, that I, the speaker and counsellor, can claim no share of merit in such advantages as have been gained by speaking and by counsel: but where our arms have been unsuccessful, where the conduct of a war hath been unfortunate, I am loaded with the whole blame. Can we conceive a temper more cruel, more execrable in its malice?—Read the letter.

The Letter is here read.

The assembly was now convened. The deputies of Macedonia were first admitted to an audience, as they appeared in the character of allies. They rose up and addressed themselves to the people; lavishing their praises upon Philip, urging many articles of accusation against you, and dwelling upon every act of opposition which you had ever made to Thebes. This was the sum of all: they called upon the Thebans to make the due return to the benefits conferred by Philip, and to inflict due vengeance for the injuries received from you: and, for this they had their option, either to allow the Macedonian a free passage through their territory, or to unite with him in the invasion of Attica. It was clearly proved, as they affected to suppose, that, if their counsels were embraced, the cattle, slaves, and all the wealth of Attica must be transferred to Bœotia; but, that our overtures tended to expose Bœotia to all the havock of the war. To these they added many other particulars, all tending to the same purpose. And, now, I should esteem it my greatest happiness to lay before you the whole detail of what we urged in reply. But you, I fear, are too sensible, that these things are past, that the torrent hath since broken in, and, as it were, overwhelmed all our affairs; and therefore must think it useless and odious to speak of these things at all. I shall therefore confine myself to the resolutions we obtained, and the answer returned to you. Take them, read.

The answer of the Thebans is here read.

In consequence of these their resolutions, they called you forth; they invited you in due form. You marched, you came to

their support; and, with such affectionate confidence were you received, (for I pass over the intermediate transactions,) that, while their army, both infantry and cavalry, were stationed without the walls, your forces were admitted into their city, were received into their houses, amidst their children, their wives, all that they held most dear. And thus, in one day, did the Thebans give three the most public and most honourable testimonies to your merit: one to your valour, another to your justice, and a third to your continence. For, by determining to unite their arms with yours, rather than to fight against you, they declared their sense of your superior valour, as well as the superior justice of your cause: and, by intrusting to your disposal, what they and all mankind are most solicitous to protect, their children and their wives, they demonstrated an absolute reliance on your strict continence: and your conduct confirmed these their sentiments in every particular; for, from the moment that our army appeared within their walls, no man ever could complain of any one instance of your injurious demeanour; such purity of manners did you display. And, in the two first engagements, that of the river, and that fought in winter, you approved yourselves not blameless only, but worthy of admiration, in discipline, in judgment, in alacrity.¹ Hence, other states were engaged in praises of your conduct, ours in sacrifices and religious processions.—And here I would gladly ask Æschines this question, Whether in the course of these events, when the city was one scene of unbounded joy and acclamation, he took his part in our religious rites, and shared in the general festivity; or, shut himself in his chamber, grieved, afflicted and provoked at the successes of his country? If he appeared, if he was then found among his fellow-citizens, what injustice, nay, what impiety is this, when he had solemnly called Heaven to witness, that he approved these measures, to desire that you should condemn them by your present sentence; you who, by your oath, have made as solemn an appeal to Heaven? If he

¹ These engagements, wherever fought, have been considered by historians as of too little consequence to be recorded. And the extravagance of joy with which the accounts of them were received, strongly mark the levity of the Athenian character.

did not appear, is not that man worthy of a thousand deaths, who looks with grief on those events which fill his countrymen with joy?—Read these decrees!

The Decrees relative to the Sacrifices are here read.

Thus were we, then, engaged in sacrificing to the gods; the Thebans, in acknowledging that we had been their deliverers. Thus, the people who had been reduced, by the machinations of my adversary and his faction, to the condition of seeking assistance, were raised by my counsels, to that of granting it to others. And what the style was which Philip then adopted, what his confusion at these events, you may learn from his own letters sent to Peloponnesus. Take them: read: thus shall you see, that my perseverance, my journies, my fatigues, as well as my various decrees, now the object of his malice, were by no means ineffectual. And, permit me to observe, that this state afforded numbers of able and illustrious speakers before my time. Such were Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephallus, Thrasybulus, and a thousand others. And yet, of all these, not one ever devoted his whole powers, upon all occasions, to the service of his country. He who moved the decree, did not charge himself with the embassy; he who went ambassador, was not author of the decree. Each reserved to himself a respite from business, and, in case of accident, a resource.—But I may be asked, “What! are you so superior to other men in powers and confidence, that you can do all yourself?”—I say not so. But such and so alarming was my sense of the danger then impending over us, that I thought it no time for private considerations, for entertaining any thought of personal security, for conceiving any better hopes than that all the powers of every citizen might possibly effect the necessary service. As to myself, I was persuaded, not perhaps on solid grounds, yet I was persuaded, that no mover of decrees could frame more useful decrees than I; no agent, in the execution of them, could execute them more effectually; no ambassador could proceed on his embassy with greater vigour and integrity. And hence did I assume all these functions.—Read Philip’s letters.

The Letters are read.

To such condescension did I reduce this prince. Yes, Æschines, by me was he obliged to use such language: he, who, on all former occasions, treated this state with so much insolence and arrogance.—And my fellow-citizens repaid these my services with the honour of a crown. You were present, yet acquiesced. Diondas, who traversed this grant, could not obtain a fifth of the suffrages.—Read the decrees.

The Decrees are read.

Here are decrees framed literally in the same terms with those which Aristonicus had before proposed, and that which Ctesiphon hath now moved: Decrees, which Æschines hath neither impeached, nor united in the impeachment brought against their author. And surely, if this his present accusation be justly founded, he might have prosecuted Demomeles who proposed them, and Hyperides, with much more reason than Ctesiphon. And why? Because Ctesiphon can appeal to these men, and the decisions of your courts in their case. He can plead that Æschines never attempted to accuse them, though their decrees were conceived in the same terms with his. He can urge the illegality of commencing a prosecution on a case already decided. Not to mention other reasons. Whereas, in the former suit, the cause was to be supported only by its merits, without any previous considerations in its favour. But he could not then have pursued his present method. He could not have searched old chronicles, to support his malicious charge: he could not have ransacked our archives, for scraps of obsolete decrees, never once thought of, never once conceived as in any degree applicable to the present case: he could not have made up a plausible harangue, by confounding dates, and disguising facts, with all the arts of falsehood, instead of stating them fairly. No; he must have deduced all his arguments from truths recent, from facts well remembered; all lying, as it were, before you. Hence did he decline the immediate discussion of these transactions; but brings his charge now, after so long an interval: as if this were a contest in a school of rhetoric, not a real enquiry into public affairs. Yes;

he must suppose that you are now to judge of speeches, not of political transactions.—Then, observe his sophistical craft. He tells you that whatever opinions you had formed of us both, on coming hither, they must be forgotten; that you are to judge of what appears on this examination, like men settling an account of money. You may have conceived that a balance is yet due; but when you find the accounts cleared, and that nothing remains, you must acquiesce.—And here you may observe how dangerous it is to rely on any argument not founded on truth: for by this subtle similitude he hath confessed, that you came hither firmly persuaded that I have ever spoken for my country; he, for Philip. For he could not have attempted to alter your persuasion, unless you had been thus persuaded, with respect to each. And, that he is not justly warranted to demand such alteration, I shall now demonstrate, not by the help of figures (for we are not counting money;) but by a short summary of my services, which I shall submit to you, my hearers, both as examiners and as vouchers of my account.

By my conduct, then, which he treats with such severity, the Thebans, instead of joining with the Macedonian in an invasion of our territory, as we all expected, united with us, and prevented that invasion.—The war, instead of raging here in Attica, was confined to the district of Bœotia, at a distance of seventy stadia from the city.—Our coast, instead of being exposed to all the rapine of the Eubœan corsairs, was preserved in tranquillity during the whole war.—Instead of Philip's becoming master of the Hellespont, by the possession of Byzantium, the Byzantines joined with us, and turned their arms against him. Are we then to use figures and accounts in examining transactions, and shall these articles be erased from the account? Shall we not rather labour to perpetuate their remembrance?—I do not set it down as an additional article, that the cruelty which Philip was known to exercise towards those he had reduced, was all felt by other states, while we happily reaped all the fruit of that humaneness which he well knew to assume, when some future schemes were to be advanced. I do not insist on this.

—But one thing I shall assert with less reserve: That he who enters on a fair inquiry into the conduct of any minister,

without descending to a malicious prosecution, must scorn the mean arts which you have practised, of inventing metaphors, and mimicking phrases and gestures. It essentially concerns the interests of Greece, no doubt, that I use this and reject that phrase; that I should move my arm this way, and not to that side. No: the fair inquirer would consider the state of facts; would examine what resources, what powers we possessed, when I first entered on affairs; what accessions I procured to these; and what were the circumstances of our enemies. If I had really weakened the powers of my country, such iniquitous conduct should be detected: if I had considerably increased them, your malice should not have pursued me. But, as you have avoided this method, I shall adopt it. And to you, my hearers, I appeal for the truth of what I now deliver.

First, then, as to our powers at this juncture: we commanded but the islands; and not all of these; only the weakest of them. Neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra were then our's. Of our finances, the amount was forty-five talents; and even this sum had been anticipated. Of infantry and cavalry, except those within our walls, we had not any: and what was the circumstance most alarming, and most favourable to our enemies, their artifices had been so effectual, that the adjacent states, Megara, Thebes, Eubœa, were all inclined to hostilities, rather than an alliance with us. Such was the situation of our affairs. It cannot be denied; it cannot be at all controverted. And now consider those of Philip our antagonist. In the first place, his power over all his followers was absolute and uncontrouled; the first great necessary article in war. Then, their arms were ever in their hands. Again, his finances were in the most flourishing condition. In all his motions, he consulted only with himself: he did not announce them by decrees; he did not concert them in a public assembly; he was not exposed to false accusers; he was not to guard against impeachments; he was not to submit his conduct to examination; but was in all things absolutely lord, leader, and governor. To this man was I opposed. It is but just that you consider my circumstances. What did I command? Nothing. I had but the right of audience in our assemblies; a right which you granted to his hirelings equally with me. And, as often as

they prevailed against my remonstrances, (and oftentimes did they thus prevail, on various pretences) were you driven to resolutions highly favourable to the enemy. Loaded with all these difficulties, I yet brought over to your alliance the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megareans, Leucadians, Corcyræans. And thus did we collect fifteen hundred foot, and two thousand horse, exclusive of our own citizens. And thus were our finances enlarged, by as ample subsidies as I could raise.

If you insist on what contingents should strictly have been required from the Thebans, or from the Byzantines, or from the Eubœans; if you talk of dividing the burden of the war in exact proportion; I must in the first place inform you, that, when the united fleet was drawn out to defend the interests of Greece, the whole number of ships amounted to three hundred; and of these two hundred were supplied by Athens. Nor did we think ourselves aggrieved; nor did we prosecute those who had advised it; nor did we discover any marks of discontent. That would have been shameful. No: we thanked the gods, that, when all Greece was threatened with imminent danger, we were enabled to give twice as much assistance to the common cause, as any other state. And then—little is the public favour which your malicious invectives against me can gain. For why do you now tell us what we should have done? Were you not then in the city? Were you not in the assembly? Why did you not propose your scheme, if it suited the circumstances of affairs? For here was the point to be considered; what these circumstances admitted, not what our wishes might suggest. Had we once rejected the alliance of any people, there was one ready to purchase them, to bid much higher for them, to receive them with open arms. And, if my conduct is now questioned, what, if by any exact and scrupulous demands, in my stipulations with the several states, they had withdrawn their forces, and united with our enemy; and, thus, Philip had been master of Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium? How busy would these impious men have then been, how violent in their clamours? Must they not have cried out, that we had rejected these states? That we had driven them from us, when they were courting our alliance? That Philip was confirmed sover-

eign of the Hellespont by the Byzantines? That the whole corn-trade of Greece was at his disposal? That Thebes had enabled him to push the war to our very confines? That it had fallen with all its weight on Attica? That the sea was impassable, for that corsairs were perpetually issuing from Eubœa!—Should we not have heard all this and more?—A false accuser, (my countrymen!) is a monster, a dangerous monster, querulous, and industrious in seeking pretences of complaint. And such is the very nature of this fox in human shape, a stranger to every thing good and liberal; this theatrical ape, this strolling player, this blundering haranguer!—For, of what use is this your vehemence to the public?—do you waste it on transactions long since past?—Just as if a physician should visit his infirm and distempered patients, should never speak, never prescribe the means of expelling their disorders; but when one of them had died, and the last offices were performing to his remains, to march after to the grave, and there pronounce with all solemnity, “if this man had proceeded thus, and thus, he would not have died.”—Infatuated wretch! and dost thou vouchsafe to speak at last!

As to the defeat, that incident in which you so exult! (accursed wretch! who should rather mourn for it.) Look through my whole conduct, and ye shall find nothing there, that brought down this calamity upon my country. Let it be considered that there is no one instance in which the ambassadors of Macedon ever prevailed against me, in any of those states where I appeared as the ambassador of Athens: not in Thessaly, nor in Ambracia, nor Illyria, nor among the Thracian princes, nor in Byzantium; in no one place; no, nor in the last debate at Thebes. But whatever was thus acquired by my superiority over the ambassadors of Philip, their master soon recovered, by force of arms. And this is urged as my offence. My adversary, even at the very time that he affects to ridicule my weakness, is so shameless as to require, that I in my single person should conquer all the powers of the Macedonian, and conquer them by words: What else could I command? I had no power over the life of any one citizen, over the fortune of our soldiers, or the conduct of our armies, for which thou art so absurd as to call me to account. In every particular where

a minister is accountable, there, let your scrutiny be strict and severe. I never shall decline it. And what are the duties of a minister? To watch the first rise of every incident, to foresee, to forewarn his fellow-citizens. And this did I perform. To confine those evils within the narrowest bounds, which are natural and necessary to be encountered in every state; to restrain the fatal influence of irresolution, supineness, prejudice, and animosity; and, on the other hand, to dispose the minds of men to concord and unanimity, to rouse them to a vigorous defence of their just rights. All this did I perform; nor can an instance be produced, in which I proved deficient. If a man were asked, what were the means by which Philip effected most of his designs? the answer is obvious: It was by his armies, by his bribes, by corrupting those who were at the head of affairs. As to his armies, I neither commanded, nor directed them. I am not therefore to account for any of their motions. As to his bribes, I rejected them. And, in this I conquered Philip: for, as the purchaser conquers, when a man accepts his price, and sells himself; so, the man who will not be sold, who disdains to be corrupted, conquers the purchaser. Well then! with respect to me, this state remains still unconquered.

Thus have I produced such instances of my conduct, as (not to mention many others) justly authorise this decree of Ctesiphon in my favour. And now, I proceed to facts, well known to all who hear me.—No sooner had the battle been decided, than the people, (and they had known and seen all my actions) in the midst of public consternation and distress, when it could not be surprising if the multitude had made me feel some marks of their resentment, were directed by my counsels in every measure taken for the defence of the city. Whatever was done to guard against a siege, the disposition of our garrison, our works, the repair of our walls, the money to be raised for this purpose, all was determined by decrees framed by me. Then, when they were to appoint a commissioner for providing corn, the people elected me from their whole body. Again, when persons, bent on my destruction, had conspired against me, when they had commenced prosecutions, inquiries, impeachments, and I know not what, at first not in their own

names, but by such agents as they thought best fitted to conceal the real authors;—yes, you all know, you all remember that, at the beginning of this period, I was every day exposed to some judicial process; nor was the despair of Sosicles, nor the malice of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melanus, nor any other engine left untried for my destruction.—I say then, that, at the time when I was thus exposed to various assaults, next to the gods my first and great defenders, I owed my deliverance to you, and all my countrymen. And justice required that you should support my cause; for it was the cause of truth, a cause which could never fail of due regard from judges bound by solemn oaths, and sensible of their sacred obligation.—As you then gave sentence in my favour, on all occasions where I had been impeached, as my prosecutor could not obtain a fifth part of the voices, you, in effect, pronounced that my actions had been excellent: as I was acquitted upon every trial for an infringement of the laws, it was evident that my counsels and decrees had been ever consonant to law; and, as you ever passed and approved my accounts, you declared authentically, that I had transacted all your affairs with strict and uncorrupted integrity. In what terms, then, could Ctesiphon have described my conduct, agreeably to decency and justice? Was he not to use those which he found his country had employed, which the sworn judges had employed, which truth itself had warranted upon all occasions!—Yes! but I am told that it is the glory of Cephalus, that he never had occasion to be acquitted on a public trial. True! and it is his good fortune also. But where is the justice of regarding that man as a more exceptionable character, who was oftentimes brought to trial, and as often was acquitted: never once condemned?—Yet, let it be observed, (Athenians!) that, with respect to Æschines, I stand in the very same point of glory with Cephalus: for he never accused, never prosecuted me. Here, then, is a confession of your own, that I am a citizen of no less worth than Cephalus.

Among the various instances in which he hath displayed his absurdity and malice, that part of his harangue which contains his sentiments on FORTUNE, is not the least glaring. That a mortal should insult his fellow-mortal, on account of fortune,

is, in my opinion, an absurdity the most extravagant. He, whose condition is most prosperous, whose fortune seems most favourable, knows not whether it is to remain unchanged even for a day. How then can he mention this subject? How can he urge it against any man as his reproach? But, since my adversary hath, on this occasion, as on many others, given a free scope to his insolence, hear what I shall offer upon the same subject; and judge whether it be not more consonant to truth, as well as to that moderation which becomes humanity.

As to the fortune of this state; I must pronounce it good. And this, I find, hath been the sentence, both of the Dodonæan Jove, and of the Pythian Apollo. As to that of individuals, such as all experience at this day, it is grievous and distressful. Look through all Greece, through all the Barbarian world; and where can we find the man who doth not feel many calamities in this present juncture? But this I take to be the happiness of our fortune as a state, that we have pursued such measures as are most honourable; that we have been more prosperous than those states of Greece who vainly hoped to secure their own happiness by deserting us.—That we have encountered difficulties, that events have not always corresponded with our wishes, in this we have but shared that common lot which other mortals have equally experienced. As to the fortune of an individual, mine, and that of any other, must be determined, I presume, by the particular incidents of our lives.—Such are my sentiments upon this subject. And I think you must agree with me, that they are founded upon truth and equity.—But my adversary declares, that my fortune hath been greater than that of the whole community. What! a poor and humble fortune, superior to one of excellence and elevation! How can this be? No, Æschines, if you are determined to examine into my fortune, compare it with your own: and, if you find mine superior, let it be no longer the subject of your reproach. Let us trace this matter fully.—And here, in the name of all the gods, let me not be censured, as betraying any indication of a low mind. No man can be more sensible than I, that he who insults poverty, and he who, because he hath been bred in affluence, assumes an air of pride and consequence, are equally devoid of understanding. But the virulence and restless malice

of an inveterate adversary hath forced me upon this topic, where I shall study to confine myself within as strict bounds as the case can possibly admit.

Know then, *Æschines*, it was my fortune, when a youth, to be trained up in a liberal course of education, supplied in such a manner as to place me above the base temptations of poverty: when a man, to act suitably to such an education, to contribute, in my full proportion, to all the exigencies of the state; never to be wanting in any honourable conduct, either in private or in public life; but, on all occasions, to approve myself useful to my country, and to my friends. When I came into the administration of public affairs, I determined upon such a course of conduct, as frequently gained me the honour of a crown, both from this and other states of Greece. Nor could you, my enemies, attempt to say that I had determined on a dishonourable course.—Such hath been the fortune of my life: a subject on which I might enlarge: but I must restrain myself, lest I should give offence, by an affectation of importance.

Come, then, thou man of dignity, thou who spurnest at all others with contempt; examine thy own life; say, of what kind hath thy fortune been?—She placed thee, when a youth, in a state of abject poverty; an assistant to thy father in his school, employed in the menial services of preparing his ink, washing down his benches, and sweeping his room; like a slave rather than the child of a citizen. When arrived at manhood, we find thee dictating the forms of initiation to thy mother, assisting in her trade, every night employed with thy fawn-skin and lustral bowls, purifying the noviciates, and modelling their little figures of clay and bran, then rousing them, and teaching them to pronounce *I HAVE ESCAPED THE BAD; I HAVE FOUND THE BETTER*: glorying in this noble accomplishment of howling out such jargon louder than the rest.¹ And it is an honour we must allow him. For, as he pleads with so

¹ This part of the ceremonial alluded either to the improvements made in human life by husbandry and arts, which were commemorated in the mystic rites: or to the hopes of enjoying greater happiness in another world, in consequence of initiation, with which the noviciates were flattered.

much vehemence, ye may conclude that in his howlings he was equally piercing and clamorous. In the daytime, he led his noble Bacchanals through the highways, crowned with fennel and poplar, grasping his serpents, and waving them above his head, with his yell of *EVOE, SABOE!* then bounding, and roaring out *HYES, ATTES, ATTES, HYES!*—Leader!—Conductor!—Ivy-bearer!—Van-bearer! these were his felicitations from the old women: and his wages were tart, biscuit, and new-baked crusts. In such circumstances, surely we must congratulate him on his fortune.

When you had obtained your enrolment among our citizens, by what means I shall not mention, but, when you had obtained it, you instantly chose out the most honourable of employments, that of under-scrivener and assistant to the lowest of our public officers. And, when you retired from this station, where you had been guilty of all those practices you charge on others, you were careful not to disgrace any of the past actions of your life. No, by the powers!—You hired yourself to Simmichus and Socrates, those deep-groaning tragedies, as they were called, and acted third characters. You pillaged the grounds of other men for figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer: which cost you more blows than even your playing, which was in effect playing for your life; for there was an implacable, irreconcilable war declared between you and the spectators; whose stripes you felt so often and so severely, that you may well deride those as cowards who are unexperienced in such perils.—But I shall not dwell on such particulars as may be imputed to his poverty. My objections shall be confined to his principles.—Such were the measures you adopted in your public conduct, (for you at last conceived the bold design of engaging in affairs of state) that, while your country prospered, you led a life of trepidation and dismay, expecting every moment the stroke due to those iniquities which stung your conscience: when your fellow-citizens were unfortunate, then were you distinguished by a peculiar confidence. And the man who assumes this confidence, when thousands of his countrymen have perished,—what should he justly suffer from those who are left alive?—And here I might produce many other particulars of his character. But I suppress them. For

I am not to exhaust the odious subject of his scandalous actions. I am confined to those which it may not be indecent to repeat.

Take then the whole course of your life, Æschines, and of mine: compare them without heat or acrimony. You attended on your scholars: I was myself a scholar. You served in the initiations: I was initiated. You were a performer in our public entertainments: I was the director. You took notes of speeches: I was a speaker. You were an underplayer: I was a spectator. You failed in your part: I hissed you. Your public conduct was devoted to our enemies; mine to my country. I shall only add, that on this day I appear to be approved worthy of a crown: the question is not whether I have been merely blameless: this is a point confessed. You appear as a false accuser: and the question is, whether you are ever to appear again in such a character? You are in danger of being effectually prevented, by feeling the consequences of a malicious prosecution.—The fortune of your life, then, hath been truly excellent: you see it. Mine hath been mean; and you have reason to reproach it.—Come then! hear me while I read the several attestations of those public offices which I have discharged. And, in return, do you repeat those verses which you spoiled in the delivery:

“Forth from the deep abyss, behold I come!
And the dread portal of the dusky gloom.”

And—

“Know then, howe’er reluctant, I must speak
Those evils ———”

O, may the gods inflict *those evils* upon thee! may these thy countrymen inflict them to thy utter destruction? thou enemy to Athens, thou traitor, thou vile player!—Read the attestations.

The Attestations are read.

Such hath been my public character. As to my private conduct, if you be not all satisfied, that I have approved myself benevolent and humane; every ready to assist those who needed; I shall be silent; I shall not plead; I shall not produce

testimony of these points: no, nor of the numbers of my fellow-citizens I have redeemed from captivity, nor the sums I have contributed to portioning their daughters, nor of any like actions. For my principles are such as lead me naturally to suppose, that he who receives a benefit, must remember it for ever, if he would approve his honesty; but that he who confers the benefit, should instantly forget it, unless he would betray a sordid and illiberal spirit. To remind men of his bounty, to make it the subject of his discourse, is very little different from a direct reproach. A fault which I am studious to avoid; and therefore shall proceed no further; content to acquiesce in your opinion of my actions, whatever this may be. But while I practise this reserve, with respect to my private life, indulge me in enlarging somewhat further on my public conduct.

Of all the men beneath the sun, point out the single person, (Æschines) Greek, or Barbarian, who hath not fallen under the power, first of Philip, and now of Alexander; and I submit: let every thing be imputed to my fortune, (shall I call it?) or, if you please, my evil genius. But if numbers who never saw me, who never heard my voice, have laboured under a variety of the most afflicting calamities, I mean not only individuals, but whole states and nations; how much more consonant to truth and justice must it be to ascribe the whole to that common fate of mankind, that torrent of unhappy events which bore down upon us with an irresistible violence?—But you turn your eyes from the real cause, and lay the entire blame on my administration: although you know, that, if not the whole, a part at least of your virulent abuse must thus fall upon your country, and chiefly upon yourself. Had I, when speaking in the assembly, been absolute and independent master of affairs, then your other speakers might call me to account. But if ye were ever present, if ye were all in general invited to propose your sentiments, if ye were all agreed that the measures then suggested were really the best, if you, Æschines, in particular, were thus persuaded, (and it was no partial affection for me, that prompted you to give me up the hopes, the applause, the honours which attended that course I then advised, but the superior force of truth, and your own

utter inability to point out any more eligible course)—If this was the case, I say, is it not highly cruel and unjust to arraign those measures *now*, when you could not *then* propose any better?—In all other cases we find mankind in general perfectly agreed, and determining in every particular with exact precision. Hath a wilful injury been committed? It is followed with resentment and punishment. Hath a man erred unwillingly? He meets with pardon instead of punishment. Is there a man who hath neither willingly nor inadvertently offended? who hath devoted himself to what appeared the true interest of this country, but in some instances hath shared in the general disappointment? Justice requires, that, instead of reproaching and reviling such a man, we should condole with him. These points are all manifest: they need not the decision of laws, they are determined by nature, by the unwritten precepts of humanity.—Mark then the extravagance of that cruelty and malice which Æschines hath discovered. The very events, which he himself quotes as so many instances of unhappy fortune, he would impute to me as crimes.

Add to all this, that, as if he himself had ever spoken the plain dictates of an honest and ingenuous mind, he directs you to guard against me, to be careful that I may not deceive you, that I may not practise my arts with too much success.—The vehement declaimer, the subtle impostor, the artful manager,—these are the appellations he bestows upon me. Thus hath he persuaded himself that the man who is first to charge his own qualities on others, must effectually impose upon his hearers; and that they can never once discover who he is that urges this charge.—But you are no strangers to his character, and must be sensible, I presume, that all this is much more applicable to him than me.—As to my own abilities in speaking, (for I shall admit this charge, although experience hath convinced me that what is called the power of eloquence depends for the most part upon the hearers, and that the characters of public speakers are determined by that degree of favour and attention which you vouchsafe to each.—If long practice, I say, hath given me any proficiency in speaking, you have ever found it devoted to my country, not to her enemies, not to my private interest. His abilities, on the con-

trary, have not only been employed in pleading for our adversaries, but in malicious attacks upon those his fellow-citizens who have ever in any degree offended or obstructed him. The cause of justice, the cause of Athens, he hath never once supported. And surely the ingenuous and honest citizen never could expect that his private quarrels, his particular animosities, should be gratified by judges who are to determine for the public; never could be prompted by such motives to commence his prosecution. No; they are passions, which, if possible, never should find a place in his nature: at least should be restrained within the strictest bounds.—On what occasions then is the minister and public speaker to exert his vehemence? when I am to be crowned, when I am to receive public honours, fellow-citizens are engaged in some contest with a foreign enemy. These are the proper occasions, for these are the proper subjects of a truly generous and faithful zeal. But never to have demanded justice against me, either in the name of his country, or of his own; never to have impeached any part of my public, or even of my private conduct; yet now, when I am to be crowned, when I am to receive public honours, to commence a prosecution, to exhaust his whole fund of virulence in the attack;—this surely is an indication of private pique, of an envious soul, of a depraved spirit; not of generous and honest principles. And, to point this attack not directly against me, but Ctesiphon, to make him the culprit, is surely the very consummation of all baseness.

When I consider that profusion of words, which you have lavished on this prosecution, I am tempted to believe that you engaged in it, to display the skilful management of your voice, not to bring me to justice.—But it is not language, Æschines, it is not the tone of voice, which reflects honour upon a public speaker; but such a conformity with his fellow-citizens in sentiment and interest, that both his enemies and friends are the same with those of his country. He who is thus affected, he it is who must ever speak the genuine dictates of a truly loyal zeal. But the man who pays his adulation to those who threaten danger to the state, is not embarked in the same bottom with his countrymen, and therefore hath a different dependence for his security.—Mark me, Æschines, I ever de-

terminated to share the same fate with these our fellow-citizens. I had no separate interest, no private resource: and, has this been your case? Impossible! Yours! who, when the battle was once decided, instantly repaired, as ambassador, to Philip, the author of all the calamities your country, at that time, experienced; and this, when, on former occasions, you had declared loudly against engaging in any such commission; as all these citizens can testify.

—Whom are we to charge as the deceiver of the state? Is it not the man whose words are inconsistent with his actions? On whom do the maledictions fall, usually pronounced in our assemblies? Is it not on this man? Can we point out a more enormous instance of iniquity in any speaker, than this inconsistency between his words and actions? And in this have you been detected. Can you then presume to speak; to meet the looks of these citizens? Can you persuade yourself, that they are strangers to your character? All so profoundly sunk in sleep and oblivion, as to forget those harangues, in which, with horrid oaths and imprecations, you disclaimed all connection with Philip? You called it an imputation forged by me, and urged from private pique, without the least regard to truth. And yet, no sooner was the advice received of that fatal battle, than your declarations were forgotten, your connection publicly avowed. You affected to declare, that you were engaged to this prince in the strictest bands of friendship. Such was the title by which you sought to dignify your prostitution. Was the son of Glaucothea the minstrel, the intimate, or friend, or acquaintance of Philip? I profess myself unable to discover any just and reasonable ground for such pretensions. No: you were his hireling indeed, bribed to betray the interests of Athens; and, although you have been so clearly detected in this traitorous correspondence; although you have not scrupled, when the battle was once decided, to give evidence of it against yourself; yet have you presumed to attack me with all your virulence; to reproach me with crimes, for which, of all mankind, I am least to be reproached.

Many noble and important schemes hath my country formed, and happily effected by my means, and, that these are retained in memory, take this proof, *Æschines*. When the people

came to elect a person to make the funeral oration over the slain, immediately after the battle, they would not elect you, although you were proposed, although you are so eminent in speaking; they would not elect Demades, who had just concluded the peace, nor Hegemon, no, nor any other of your faction. They elected me. And, when you and Pythocles rose up, (let Heaven bear witness, with what cruelty, with what abandoned impudence!) when you charged me with the same crimes as now, when you pursued me with the same virulence and scurrility; all this served but to confirm the people in their resolution of electing me. You know too well the reason of this preference; yet hear it from me.—They were perfectly convinced, both of that faithful zeal and alacrity with which I had conducted their affairs, and of that iniquity which you and your party had discovered, by publicly avowing, at a time when your country was unfortunate, what you had denied with solemn oaths while her interests flourished. And, it was a natural conclusion, that the men whom our public calamities emboldened to disclose their sentiments, had ever been our enemies, and now were our declared enemies. Besides, they rightly judged that he who was to speak in praise of the deceased, to grace their noble actions, could not, in decency, be the man who had lived and conversed in strict connection with those who had fought against them: that they who, at Macedon, had shared in the feast, and joined in the triumph over the misfortunes of Greece, with those by whose hands the slaughter had been committed, should not receive a mark of honour on their return to Athens. Nor did our fellow-citizens look for men who could act the part of mourners, but for one deeply and sincerely affected. And such sincerity they found in themselves and me; not the least degree of it in you. I was then appointed: you and your associates were rejected. Nor was this the determination of the people only; those parents also, and brethren of the deceased, who were appointed to attend the funeral rites, expressed the same sentiments. For, as they were to give the banquet, which, agreeably to ancient usage, was to be held at his house who had been most strictly connected with the deceased, they gave it at my house; and with reason: for, in point of kindred, each

had his connections with some among the slain, much nearer than mine; but with the whole body none was more intimately connected; for he, who was most concerned in their safety and success, must surely feel the deepest sorrow at their unhappy and unmerited misfortune.—Read the epitaph inscribed upon their monument by public authority. In this, Æschines, you will find a proof of your absurdity, your malice, your abandoned baseness.—Read!

The Epitaph.

These, for their country's sacred cause, array'd
In arms, tremendous, sought the fatal plain:
Brav'd the proud foe with courage undismay'd,
And greatly scorn'd dishonour's abject stain.

Fair virtue led them to the arduous strife;
Avenging terror menac'd in their eyes.
For freedom nobly prodigal of life,
Death they propos'd their common glorious prize.

For never to tyrannic vile domain
Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,
Nor see Greece drag the odious servile chain,
And mourn her ancient glories at an end.

In the kind bosom of their parent-land,
Ceas'd are their toils, and peaceful is their grave:
So Jove decreed: (and Jove's supreme command
Acts unresisted, to destroy, or save.)

Chance to despise, and fortune to controul,
Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain:
Their joys, unchang'd, in endless currents roll;
But mortals combat with their fate in vain.

Æschines! hearest thou this! It pertains only to the gods to control fortune, and to command success. Here, the power of assuring victory is ascribed not to the minister, but to Heaven. Why then, accursed wretch! hast thou so licentiously reproached me upon this head? Why hast thou denounced against me, what I intreat the just gods to discharge on thee and thy vile associates!

Of all the various instances of falsehood, in this his prose-

cution, one there is which most surprises me. In recalling the misfortunes of that fatal period to our minds, he hath felt no part of that sensibility, which bespeaks a zealous or an honest citizen. He never dropped one tear: never discovered the least tender emotion. No! his voice was elevated, he exulted, he strained and swelled, with all the triumph of a man who had convicted me of some notorious offence. But, in this, he hath given evidence against himself, that he is not affected by our public calamities in the same manner with his fellow-citizens. And, surely the man, who, like Æschines, affects an attachment to the laws and constitution, should approve his sincerity, if by no other means, at least by this, by feeling joy and sorrow, on the same occasions, with his countrymen;—not take part with their enemies, in his public conduct. And this part you have most evidently taken; you, who point at me as the cause of all; me, as the author of all our present difficulties.—But was it my administration, were they my instances which first taught my country to rise in defence of Greece? If you grant me this, if you make me the author of our vigorous opposition to that power which threatened the liberties of our nation, you do me greater honour than ever was conferred upon an Athenian. But it is an honour I cannot claim: I should injure my country: it is an honour, I well know, ye would not resign. And surely, if he had the least regard to justice, his private enmity to me never could have driven him to this base attempt to disgrace, to deny you, the most illustrious part of your character.

But why should I dwell on this, when there are so many more enormous instances of his baseness and falsehood?—He who accuses me of favouring Philip!—Heavens and earth! what would not this man assert?—But let us, in the name of all the gods, attend to truth, to fact; let us lay aside all private animosity;—and who are really the men on whom we can fairly and justly lay the guilt of all misfortunes? The men who, in their several states, pursued his course, (it is easy to point them out) not those who acted like me: The men, who, while the power of Philip was yet in its weak and infant state, when we frequently warned them, when we alarmed them with the danger, when we pointed out their best and

safest course; yet sacrificed the interest of their country to their own infamous gain, deceived and corrupted the leading citizens in each state, until they had enslaved them all. Thus were the Thessalians treated by Daochus, Cineas, and Thrasydæas; the Arcadians, by Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucalpidas; the Argians, by Myrtes, Telademus, Mnaseas; Elis, by Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus; Messene, by the sons of Philicides, that abomination of the gods; by Neon and Thrasylochus; Scycion, by Aristratus and Epichares; Corinth, by Dinarchus, Demaratus; Megara, by Elixus, Ptedorus, Perilaus; Thebes, by Timolaüs, Theogiton, Anemætas; Eubœa, by Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosicrates.—The whole day would be too short for the names only of the traitors. And these were the men who, in their several states, adopted the same measures which this man pursued at Athens. Wretches! flatterers! miscreants! tearing the vitals of their country, and tendering its liberties with a wanton indifference, first to Philip, now to Alexander! confined to the objects of a sordid and infamous sensuality, as their only blessings! subverters of that freedom and independence which the Greeks of old regarded as the test and standard of true happiness!—Amidst all this shamefully avowed corruption, this confederacy, or (shall I call it by its true name?) this traitorous conspiracy against the liberty of Greece, my conduct preserved the reputation of this state unimpeached by the world; while my character (Athenians!) stood equally unimpeached by you. Do you ask me, then, on what merits I claim this honour? Hear my answer. When all the popular leaders through Greece had been taught by your example, and accepted the wages of corruption, from Philip first, and now from Alexander; no favourable moment was found to conquer my integrity; no insinuation of address, no magnificence of promises, no hopes, no fears, no favour, nothing could prevail upon me to resign the least part of what I deemed the just rights and interests of my country: nor, when my counsels were demanded, was I ever known, like you and your associates, to lean to that side, where a bribe had been, as it were, cast into the scale. No: my whole conduct was influenced by a spirit of rectitude, a spirit of justice and integrity: and, engaged as I was, in affairs of greater

moment than any statesman of my time, I administered them all with a most exact and uncorrupted faith.—These are the merits on which I claim this honour.

As to those public works so much the object of your ridicule, they undoubtedly demand a due share of honour and applause: but I rate them far beneath the great merits of my administration: It is not with stones nor bricks that I have fortified the city. It is not from works like these that I derive my reputation. Would you know my methods of fortifying? Examine, and you will find them, in the arms, the towns, the territories, the harbours I have secured, the navies, the troops, the armies I have raised. These are the works by which I defended Attica, as far as human foresight could defend it; these are the fortifications I drew round our whole territory, and not the circuit of our harbour, or of our city only. In these acts of policy, in these provisions for a war, I never yielded to Philip. No; it was our generals and our confederate forces who yielded to fortune. Would you know the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider: what was the part of a faithful citizen? Of a prudent, an active, and an honest minister? Was he not to secure Eubœa, as our defence against all attacks by sea? Was he not to make Bœotia our barrier on the mid-land side? The cities bordering on Peloponnesus our bulwark, on that quarter? Was he not to attend with due precaution to the importation of corn, that this trade might be protected, through all its progress, up to our own harbour? Was he not to cover those districts which we commanded by seasonable detachments, as the Proconesus, the Chersonesus, and Tenedos? To exert himself in the assembly for this purpose? While with equal zeal he laboured to gain others to our interest and alliance, as Byzantium, Abydus, and Eubœa? Was he not to cut off the best and most important resources of our enemies, and to supply those in which our country was defective?—And all this you gained by my counsels, and my administration. Such counsels and such an administration, as must appear upon a fair and equitable view, the result of strict integrity; such as left no favourable juncture unimproved, through ignorance or treachery; such as ever had their due effect, as far

as the judgment and abilities of one man could prove effectual. But, if some superior being, if the power of fortune, if the misconduct of generals, if the iniquity of you traitors, or if all these together broke in upon us, and at length involved us in one general devastation, how is DEMOSTHENES to be blamed? Had there been a single man in each Grecian state, to act the same part which I supported in this city; nay, had but one such man been found in Thessaly, and one in Arcadia, actuated by my principles, not a single Greek either beyond, or on this side Thermopylæ, could have experienced the misfortunes of this day. All had then been free and independent, in perfect tranquillity, security, and happiness, untroubled, in their several communities, by any foreign power, and filled with gratitude to you, and to your state, the authors of these blessings so extensive and so precious. And all this by my means.—To convince you that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts, that, in this detail, I have studiously guarded against envy, take—read the lists of our confederates, as they were procured by my decrees.

The Lists—The Decrees—are here read.

These, and such as these, Æschines, are the actions which become a noble-minded honest citizen. Had they succeeded, heavens and earth! to what a pitch of glory must they have raised you, and with justice raised you! yet, unsuccessful as they proved, still they were attended with applause, and prevented the least impeachment of this state, or of her conduct. The whole blame was charged on fortune, which determined the event with such fatal cruelty. Thus, I say, is the faithful citizen to act, not to desert his country, not to hire himself to her enemies, and labour to improve their favourable exigencies, instead of those of his own state; not to malign his fellow-citizen, who, with a steady and persevering zeal, recommends and supports such measures as are worthy of his country; not to cherish malice and private animosity against him; not to live in that dishonest and insidious retirement which you have often chosen.—For there is, yes, there is a state of retirement, honest, and advantageous to the public. Such have you, my countrymen, frequently enjoyed in artless integrity.

But his retirement is not of this kind. Far from it! he retires, that he may desert the public service when he pleases; (and he too often pleases to desert it.) Thus he lies watching the moment when you grow tired of a constant speaker, or when fortune hath traversed your designs, and involved you in some of those various misfortunes incident to humanity. This is his time. He at once becomes a speaker in the assembly: he rushes, like a sudden gust of wind, from his retreat: his voice is already exercised; his words and periods are prepared; he delivers them with force and volubility, but to no useful purpose, with no effect of any real importance. They serve but to involve some fellow-citizen in distress; and, to his country, they are a disgrace.—But all this preparation (*Æschines*) all this anxiety of attention, if the genuine dictates of loyal zeal, of true patriot principles, must have produced fruits of real worth and excellence, of general emolument:—Alliances, subsidies, extension of commerce, useful laws for our internal security, effectual defence against our foreign enemies. Such were the services which the late times required; such were the services which a man of real worth and excellence had various opportunities of performing. But in all these you never took a part; not the first, not the second, not the third, not the fourth, not the fifth nor sixth, no, not any part whatever; for it would have served your country. Say, what alliance did the state gain by your management? What additional forces? What regard or reverence? What embassy of your's? What instance of your ministerial conduct ever exalted the reputation of your country? What domestic interests, what national affairs, what concerns of foreigners have prospered under your direction? What arms, what arsenals, what fortifications, what forces, what advantages of any kind have we received from you? What generous and public-spirited effects have either rich or poor experienced from your fortune? None.

—But, here he replies, “though I have not performed these services, I have been well disposed, and ready to perform them.”—How? When? Abandoned wretch! who, when the being of his country was at stake, when every speaker, who had ever appeared in the assembly, made some voluntary con-

tribution to the state; when even Aristonicus gave up that money, which he had saved, to qualify him for public offices¹ never appeared, never once contributed the smallest sum: and not from poverty: no, he had just received a bequest of five talents from his kinsman Philon; besides the two talents collected for his services in traversing the law relative to trierarchs.—But I am in danger of being led off from one point to another, so as to forget my subject.—I say then that it was not from poverty that you refused your contribution, but from the fear of opposing their interests, who influenced all your public conduct. On what occasion, then, are you spirited and shining? When you are to speak against your country. Then are we struck with the brilliancy of your eloquence, the power of your memory, the excellence with which you act your part;—the excellence of a true dramatic Theocrines.²

We have heard his encomiums on the great characters of former times: and they are worthy of them. Yet it is by no means just (Athenians!) to take advantage of your predilection to the deceased, and to draw the parallel between them and me who live among you. Who knows not that all men, while they yet live, must endure some share of envy, more or less? But the dead are not hated even by their enemies. And, if this be the usual and natural course of things, shall I be tried, shall I be judged by a comparison with my predecessors? No, Æschines, this would be neither just nor equitable. Compare me with yourself, with any, the very best of your party, and our contemporaries. Consider, whether it be nobler and better for the state to make the benefits received from our ancestors,

¹ Such as that of general, trierarch, ambassador, and director of the theatre, which could not be discharged without advancing considerable sums.

² A man notorious for calumny. He had composed some pieces for the theatre, but soon exchanged this profession for that of an informer: in which his virulence and malice rendered his name proverbial. We learn from St. Jerom, that the Pagans frequently gave this name to the first Christians. Demosthenes adds an epithet to it ("theatrical"), calculated to keep the original profession of his rival in view, to which he is indeed particularly attentive through his whole speech.

great and exalted as they are, beyond all expression great, a pretence for treating present benefactors with ingratitude and contempt; or to grant a due share of honour and regard to every man, who, at any time, approves his attachment to the public.—And yet, if I may hazard the assertion, the whole tenor of my conduct must appear, upon a fair enquiry, similar to that which the famed characters of old times pursued; and founded on the same principles: while you have as exactly imitated the malicious accusers of these great men. For it is well known, that in those times, men were found to malign all living excellence, and to lavish their insidious praises on the dead, with the same base artifice which you have practised.—You say, then, that I do not in the least resemble those great characters. And do you resemble them? Or your brother? Do any of the present speakers? I name none among them: I urge but this: let the living, thou man of candour, be compared with the living, and with those of the same department. Thus we judge, in every case, of poets, of dancers, of wrestlers. Philammon doth not depart from the Olympian games uncrowned, because he hath not equal powers with Glaucus, or Karistius, or any other wrestler of former times. No: as he approves himself superior to those who enter the lists with him, he receives his crown, and is proclaimed victor. So do you oppose me to the speakers of these times, to yourself, to any, take your most favourite character: still I assert my superiority. At that period when the state was free to choose the measures best approved, when we were all invited to engage in the great contest of patriotism, then did I display the superior excellence of my counsels, then were affairs all conducted by my decrees, my laws, my embassies. While not a man of your party ever appeared, unless to vent his insolence. But when we had once experienced this unmerited reverse of fortune; when this became the place, not for patriot ministers, but for the slaves of power, for those who stood prepared to sell their country for a bribe, for those who could descend¹ to certain prostituted compliments; then,

¹ He alludes to the complimentary addresses sent to Alexander, which he insinuates were procured by Æschines and his party.

indeed, were you and your associates exalted; then, did you display your magnificence, your state, your splendour, your equipage: while I was depressed, I confess it: yet still superior to you all, in an affectionate attachment to my country.

There are two distinguishing qualities (Athenians!) which the virtuous citizen should ever possess. (I speak in general terms, as the least invidious method of doing justice to myself) a zeal for the honour and pre-eminence of the state, in his official conduct; on all occasions, and in all transactions, an affection for his country. This nature can bestow. Abilities and success depend upon another power. And in this affection you find me firm and invariable. Not the solemn demand of my person, not the vengeance of the Amphictyonic council which they denounced against me, not the terror of their threatenings, not the flattery of their promises, no, nor the fury of those accursed wretches, whom they roused like wild beasts against me, could ever tear this affection from my breast. From first to last I have uniformly pursued the just and virtuous course of conduct; assertor of the honours, of the prerogatives, of the glory of my country; studious to support them, zealous to advance them, my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause. I was never known to march through the city, with a face of joy and exultation, at the success of a foreign power; embracing, and announcing the joyful tidings to those who, I supposed, would transmit it to the proper place. I was never known to receive the successes of my own country, with tremblings, with sighings, with eyes bending to the earth, like those impious men, who are the defamers of the state, as if by such conduct they were not defamers of themselves: who look abroad; and, when a foreign potentate hath established his power on the calamities of Greece, applaud the event, and tell us we should take every means to perpetuate his power.

Hear me, ye immortal gods! and let not these their desires be ratified in heaven! Infuse a better spirit into these men! Inspire even their minds with pure sentiments!—This is my first prayer.—Or, if their natures are not to be reformed; on them, on them only discharge your vengeance! Pursue them even to destruction! But, to us, display your goodness,

in a speedy deliverance from impending evils, and all the blessings of protection and tranquillity!¹

¹ The event of this contest was such as might be expected from the superior abilities of Demosthenes. His rival was condemned, and involved in the consequences of a groundless and malicious prosecution. Unable to pay the penalty, he was obliged to submit to exile, and determined to take up his residence at Rhodes: where he opened a school of eloquence. Here he read to his hearers those two orations. His was received with approbation, that of Demosthenes with an extravagance of applause. *And how must you have been affected*, said Æschines, with a generous acknowledgement of his rival's merit, *had you heard HIM DELIVER IT?*

It is said, that, as Æschines was retiring from the city, Demosthenes followed him, and obliged him to accept of a large present of money in his distress.

HIPPOCRATES
ON ANCIENT MEDICINE
THE OATH

TRANSLATED BY

FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D.

SURGEON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HIPPOCRATES

It is well known that the oldest documents which we possess relative to the practice of Medicine, are the various treatises contained in the Collection which bears the name of Hippocrates. Their great excellence has been acknowledged in all ages, and it has always been a question which has naturally excited literary curiosity, by what steps the art had attained to such perfection at so early a period.

It is also generally admitted that the Hippocratic Medicine emerged from the schools of philosophy; therefore, since the philosophy of the Greeks was indigenous, there is every reason to suppose that their medicine was so in like manner. How long the union between medicine and philosophy had subsisted before the time of Hippocrates, has not been determined upon any contemporary evidence, but the disciples of Pythagoras, in after ages, did not hesitate to ascribe to him the honor of effecting this alliance.¹ However this may be, it appears to me very doubtful whether these philosophers ever practised medicine as a craft. Indeed, it is much more likely that they merely speculated upon the phenomena of disease. Thus we shall see afterwards, that Plato himself did not discard speculative medicine from his system of philosophy, although we are quite sure that he never practised it as an art. But this connection between medicine and philosophy was by no means regarded, in after times, as having been favorable to the advancement of the former, for we find Hippocrates complimented by Celsus for having brought about a separation between them.

It is clearly established that, long before the birth of philosophy, medicine had been zealously and successfully cultivated by the Asclepiadæ, an order of priest-physicians that

¹ Celsus mentions Pythagorasus, Empedocles, and Democritus, as the most distinguished of the philosophers who cultivated medicine.

traced its origin to a mythical personage bearing the distinguished name of Æsculapius. Two of his sons, Podalirius and Machaon, figure in the Homeric poems, not however as priests, but as warriors possessed of surgical skill in the treatment of wounds, for which they are highly complimented by the poet. It was probably some generations after this time (if one may venture a conjecture on a matter partaking very much of the legendary character) that Æsculapius was deified, and that Temples of Health, called *Asclepia*, presided over by the Asclepiadæ, were erected in various parts of Greece, as receptacles for the sick, to which invalids resorted in those days for the cure of diseases, under the same circumstances as they go to hospitals and spas at the present time. What remedial measures were adopted in these temples we have no means of ascertaining so fully as could be wished, but the following facts, collected from a variety of sources, may be pretty confidently relied upon for their accuracy. In the first place, then, it is well ascertained that a large proportion of these temples were built in the vicinity of thermæ, or medicinal springs, the virtues of which would no doubt contribute greatly to the cure of the sick.¹ At his entrance into the temple, the devotee was subjected to purifications, and made to go through a regular course of bathing, accompanied with methodical frictions, resembling the oriental system now well known by the name of *shampooing*. Fomentations with decoctions of odoriferous herbs were also not forgotten. A total abstinence from food was at first prescribed, but afterwards the patient would no doubt be permitted to partake of the flesh of the animals which were brought to the temples as sacrifices. Every means that could be thought of was used for working upon the imagination of the sick, such as religious ceremonies of an imposing nature, accompanied by music, and whatever else could arouse their senses, conciliate their confidence, and in certain cases, contribute to their amusement. In addition to these means, it is believed by many intelligent Mesmerists

¹ The number of Asclepia in Greece noticed by Pausanias is sixty-four. Plutarch states in positive terms that all the Temples of Health were erected in high situations, and where the air was wholesome.

of the present day, that the aid of Animal magnetism was called in to contribute to the cure; but on this point the proof is not so complete as could be wished. Certain it is, however, that as the Mesmerists administer medicines which are suggested to the imagination of patients during the state of *clairvoyance*, the Asclepiadæ prescribed drugs as indicated in dreams. These, indeed, were generally of a very inert description; but sometimes medicines of a more dangerous nature, such as hemlock and gypsum, were used in this way, and regular reports of the effects which they produced were kept by the priests in the temples. It is also well known that the Asclepiadæ noted down with great care the symptoms and issue of every case, and that, from such observations, they became in time great adepts in the art of prognosis. The office of priesthood was hereditary in certain families, so that information thus acquired was transmitted from father to son, and went on accumulating from one generation to another. Whether the Asclepiadæ availed themselves of the great opportunities which they must undoubtedly have had of cultivating human and comparative anatomy, has been much disputed in modern times; but there is good reason for believing that the scholars have greatly underrated the amount of anatomical knowledge possessed by Hippocrates, and his predecessors the priest-physicians in the Temples of Health. Thus Galen holds Hippocrates to have been a very successful cultivator of anatomy. Galen further states, upon the authority of Plato, that the Asclepiadæ paid no attention to dietetics; but this opinion would require to be received with considerable modification, for, most assuredly, whoever reflects on the great amount of valuable information on this subject which is contained in the Hippocratic treatises, will not readily bring himself to believe that it could have been all collected by one man, or in the course of one generation. Moreover, Strabo affirms that Hippocrates was trained in the knowledge of dietetics. That gymnastics were not recognized as a regular branch of the healing art, until the age of Hippocrates, is indeed not improbable, and this perhaps is what Plato meant when he says that the Asclepiadæ did not make any use of the pedagogic art until it was introduced by Herodicus. But at the same time

there can be no doubt, as further stated by Galen, that exercise, and especially riding on horseback, constituted *one* of the measures used by the Asclepiadæ for the recovery of health, having been introduced by Æsculapius himself.

Of the *Asclepia* we have mentioned above, it will naturally be supposed that some were in much higher repute than others, either from being possessed of peculiar advantages, or from the prevalence of fashion. In the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era, the temples of Rhodes, Cnidos, and Cos were held in especial favor, and on the extinction of the first of these, another rose up in Italy in its stead. But the temple of Cos was destined to throw the reputation of all the others into the background, by producing among the priests of Æsculapius the individual who, in all after ages, has been distinguished by the name of the GREAT HIPPOCRATES, which was given him by Aristotle.¹

That Hippocrates was lineally descended from Æsculapius was generally admitted by his countrymen, and a genealogical table, professing to give a list of the names of his forefathers, up to Æsculapius, has been transmitted to us from remote antiquity.

Of the circumstances connected with the life of Hippocrates little is known for certain, the only biographies which we have of him being all of comparatively recent date, and of little authority. The birth of Hippocrates is generally fixed as having occurred in the 460th year before the vulgar era. There is also much uncertainty as to the time of his death: according to one tradition he died at the age of 85, whereas others raise it to 90, 104, and even 109 years. It will readily occur to the reader, then, that our author flourished at one of the most memorable epochs in the intellectual development of the human race. He had for his contemporaries, Pericles, the famous statesman; the poets Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Pindar; the philosopher Socrates, with his distinguished disciples Plato and Xenophon; the venerable father of history, Herodotus, and his young rival, Thucydides; the

¹ Galen states repeatedly that the greater part of Aristotle's physiology is derived from Hippocrates.

unrivalled statuary, Phidias, with his illustrious pupils, and many other distinguished names, which have conferred immortal honor on the age in which they lived, and exalted the dignity of human nature. Hippocrates, it thus appears, came into the world under circumstances which must have co-operated with his own remarkable powers of intellect in raising him to that extraordinary eminence which his name has attained in all ages. From his forefathers he inherited a distinguished situation in one of the most eminent hospitals, or Temples of Health, then in existence, where he must have enjoyed free access to all the treasures of observations collected during many generations, and at the same time would have an opportunity of assisting his own father in the management of the sick. Thus from his youth he must have been familiar with the principles of medicine, both in the abstract and in the concrete,—the greatest advantage, I may be permitted to remark, which any tyro in the healing art can possibly enjoy. In addition to all this, he had excellent opportunities of estimating the good and bad effects resulting from the application of gymnastic exercises in the cure of diseases, under the tuition of HERODICUS, the first person who is known for certain to have cultivated this art as a branch of medicine. He was further instructed in the polite literature and philosophy of the age, by two men of classical celebrity, Gorgias and Democritus; the latter of whom is well known to have devoted much attention to the study of medicine, and its cognate sciences, comparative anatomy and physiology.

Initiated in the theory and first principles of medicine, as now described, Hippocrates no doubt commenced the practice of his art in the Asclepion of Cos, as his forefathers had done before him. Why he afterwards left the place of his nativity, and visited distant regions of the earth, whither the duties of his profession and the calls of humanity invited him, cannot now be satisfactorily determined. The respect paid to him in his lifetime by the good and wise in all the countries which he visited, and the veneration in which his memory has been held by all subsequent generations, are more than sufficient to confute the base calumny, invented, no doubt, by some envious rival, that he was obliged to flee from the land of his nativity

in consequence of his having set fire to the library attached to the Temple of Health, at Cnidos, in order that he might enjoy a monopoly of the knowledge which he had extracted from the records which it had contained. Certain it is, that he afterwards visited Thrace, Delos, Thessaly, Athens, and many other regions, and that he practised, and probably taught, his profession in all these places. There are many traditions of what he did during his long life, but with regard to the truth of them, the greatest diversity of opinion has prevailed in modern times. Thus he is said to have cured Perdiccas, the Macedonian king, of love-sickness; and although there are circumstances connected with this story which give it an air of improbability, it is by no means unlikely that he may have devoted his professional services to the court of Macedonia, since very many of the places mentioned in his works as having been visited by him, such as Pella and Acanthus, are situated in that country; and further, in confirmation of the narrative, it deserves to be mentioned, that there is more satisfactory evidence of his son THESSALUS having been court physician to Archelaus, king of Macedonia; and that it is well ascertained that another of his descendants, the FOURTH HIPPOCRATES, attended Roxane, the queen of Alexander the Great.

Our author's name is also connected with the great plague of Athens, the contagion of which he is reported to have extinguished there and in other places, by kindling fires. The only serious objection to the truth of this story is the want of proper contemporary evidence in support of it. It is no sufficient objection, however, that Thucydides, in his description of the circumstances attending the outbreak of the pestilence in Attica [see Vol. V. p. 261], makes no mention of any services having been rendered to the community by Hippocrates; while, on the contrary, he states decidedly that the skill of the physicians could do nothing to mitigate the severity of this malady. It is highly probable, that, if Hippocrates was actually called upon to administer professional assistance in this way, it must have been during one of the subsequent attacks or exacerbations of the disease which occurred some years afterwards. We know that this plague did not expend its fury in Greece during one season, and then was no more heard of; but

on the contrary, we learn that it continued to lurk about in Athens and elsewhere, and sometimes broke out anew with all its original severity. Thucydides briefly mentions a second attack of the plague at Athens about two years after the first, attended with a frightful degree of mortality; nor is it at all improbable that this was not the last visitation of the malady. Though the name of Hippocrates, then may not have been heard of at its first invasion, it is not at all unlikely that, after he had risen to the head of his profession in Greece, as we know that he subsequently did, he should have been publicly consulted regarding the treatment of the most formidable disease which was prevailing at the time. What adds an appearance of truth to the tale is, that several of the genuine works of Hippocrates, which were probably published in its lifetime, relate to the causes and treatment of epidemic and endemic diseases.

Another circumstance in the life of Hippocrates, for the truth of which a host of ancient authorities concur in vouching, is that he refused a formal invitation to pay a professional visit to the court of Persia. He spent the latter part of his life in Thessaly, and died at Larissa, when far advanced in years.

The opinions which Hippocrates held as to the origin of medicine, and the necessities in human life which gave rise to it, are such as bespeak the soundness of his views, and the eminently practical bent of his genius. It was the necessity, he says, which men in the first stages of society must have felt of ascertaining the properties of vegetable productions as articles of food that gave rise to the science of Dietetics; and the discovery having been made that the same system of regimen does not apply in a disordered as in a healthy condition of the body, men felt themselves compelled to study what changes of the aliment are proper in disease; and it was the accumulation of facts bearing on this subject which gave rise to the art of Medicine. Looking upon the animal system as one whole, every part of which conspires and sympathizes with all the other parts, he would appear to have regarded disease also as one, and to have referred all its modifications to peculiarities of situation. Whatever may now be thought of his general views on Pathology, all must admit that his mode of prosecuting the cultivation of medicine is in the true spirit

of the Inductive Philosophy; all his descriptions of disease are evidently derived from patient observation of its phenomena, and all his rules of practice are clearly based on experience. Of the fallaciousness of experience by itself he was well aware, however, and has embodied this great truth in a memorable aphorism, and therefore he never exempts the apparent results of experience from the strict scrutiny of reason. Above all others, Hippocrates was strictly the physician of experience and common sense. In short, the basis of his system was a rational experience, and not a blind empiricism so that the Empirics in after ages had no good grounds for claiming him as belonging to their sect.

One of the most distinguishing characteristics, then, of the Hippocratic system of medicine, is the importance attached in it to *prognosis*, under which was comprehended a complete acquaintance with the previous and present condition of the patient, and the tendency of the disease. To the overstrained system of Diagnosis practised in the school of Cnidos, agreeably to which diseases were divided and subdivided arbitrarily into endless varieties, Hippocrates was decidedly opposed; his own strong sense and high intellectual cultivation having, no doubt, led him to the discovery, that to accidental varieties of diseased action there is no limit, and that what is indefinite cannot be reduced to science.

Nothing strikes one as a stronger proof of his nobility of soul, when we take into account the early period in human cultivation at which he lived, and his descent from a priestly order, than the contempt which he everywhere expresses for ostentatious charlatanry, and his perfect freedom from all popular superstition. Of amulets and complicated machines to impose on the credulity of the ignorant multitude, there is no mention in any part of his works. All diseases he traces to natural causes, and counts it impiety to maintain that any one more than another is an infliction from the Divinity. How strikingly the Hippocratic system differs from that of all other nations in their infantine state must be well known to every person who is well acquainted with the early history of medicine. His theory of medicine was further based on the physical philosophy of the ancients, more especially on the doctrines

then held regarding the elements of things, and the belief in the existence of a spiritual essence diffused through the whole works of creation, which was regarded as the agent that presides over the acts of generation, and which constantly strives to preserve all things in their natural state, and to restore them when they are preternaturally deranged. This is the principle which he called Nature, and which he held to be *avis medicatrix*. "Nature," says he, or at least one of his immediate followers says, "is the physician of diseases."

Though his belief in this restorative principle would naturally dispose him to watch its operations carefully, and make him cautious not to do anything that would interfere with their tendencies to rectify deranged actions, and though he lays it down as a general rule by which the physician should regulate his treatment, "to do good, or at least to do no harm," there is ample evidence that on proper occasions his practice was sufficiently bold and decided. In inflammatory affections of the chest he bled freely, if not, as has been said, *ad deliquum animi*, and in milder cases he practised cupping with or without scarification. Though in ordinary cases of constipation he merely prescribed laxative herbs, such as the mercury (*mercurialis perennis*), beet, and cabbage, he had in reserve elaterium, scammony, sparges, and other drastic cathartics, when more potent medicines of this class were indicated. And although when it was merely wished to evacuate upwards in a gentle manner, he was content with giving hyssop and other simple means, he did not fail, when it was desirable to make a more powerful impression, to administer the white hellebore with a degree of boldness, which his successors in the healing art were afraid to imitate. A high authority has expressly stated that he was the discoverer of the principles of derivation and revulsion in the treatment of diseases. Fevers he treated as a general rule, upon the diluent system, but did not fail to administer gentle laxatives, and even to practise venesection in certain cases. When narcotics were indicated, he had recourse to mandragora, henbane, and perhaps to poppy-juice.

In the practice of surgery he was a bold operator. He fearlessly, and as we would now think, in some cases unnecessarily,

perforated the skull with the trepan and the trephine in injuries of the head. He opened the chest also in empyema and hydrothorax. His extensive practice, and no doubt his great familiarity with the accidents occurring at the public games of his country, must have furnished him with ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with dislocations and fractures of all kinds; and how well he had profited by the opportunities which he has enjoyed, every page of his treatises "On Fractures," and "On the Articulations," abundantly testifies. In fact, until within a very recent period, the modern plan of treatment in such cases was not at all to be compared with his skillful mode of adjusting fractured bones, and of securing them by means of waxed bandages. In particular, his description of the accidents which occur at the elbow- and hip-joints will be allowed, even at the present day, to display a most wonderful acquaintance with the subject. In the treatment of dislocations, when human strength was not sufficient to restore the displacement, he skillfully availed himself of all the mechanical powers which were then known.¹ In his views with regard to the nature of club-foot, it might have been affirmed of him a few years ago, that he was twenty-four centuries in advance of his profession when he stated that in this case there is no dislocation, but merely a declination of the foot; and that in infancy, by means of methodical bandaging, a cure may in most cases be effected without any surgical operation. In a word, until the days of Delpech and Stromeyer, no one entertained ideas so sound and scientific on the nature of this deformity as Hippocrates.

M. Littré has made the following distribution of the different works in the Hippocratean Collection:

CLASS I.—The Works which truly belong to HIPPOCRATES.

1. On Ancient Medicine. 2. The Prognostics. 3. The Aphorisms. 4. The Epidemics, i., iii. 5. The Regimen in Acute Diseases. 6. On Airs, Waters, and Places. 7. On the Articulations. 8. On Fractures. 9. The Instruments of Reduction (Mochlicus). 10. The Physician's Establishment, *or*

¹ See plate I, page 391.

Surgery. 11. On Injuries of the Head. 12. The Oath. 13. The Law.

CLASS II.—The Writings of POLYBUS.

1. On the Nature of Man. 2. Regimen of Persons in Health.

CLASS III.—Writings anterior to Hippocrates.

1. The Coan Prænotions. 2. The First Book of Pro-rhetics.

CLASS IV.—Writings of the School of Cos,—of the Contemporaries or Disciples of Hippocrates.

1. Of Ulcers. 2. Of Fistulæ. 3. Of Hemorrhoids. 4. Of the Pneuma. 5. Of the Sacred Disease. 6. Of the Places in Man. 7. Of Art. 8. Of Regimen, and of Dreams. 9. Of Affections. 10. Of Internal Affections. 11. Of Diseases, i., ii., iii. 12. Of the Seventh Month Fœtus. 13. Of the Eighth Month Fœtus.

CLASS V.—Books in which are but Extracts and Notes.

1. Epidemics, ii., iv., v., vi., vii. 2. On the Surgery.

CLASS VI.—Treatises which belong to some unknown author, and form a particular series in the Collection.

1. On Generation. 2. On the Nature of the Infant. 3. On Diseases, iv. 4. On the Diseases of Women. 5. On the Diseases of Young Women. 6. On Unfruitful Women.

CLASS VII.—Writing belonging to LEOPHANES.

On Superfœtation.

CLASS VIII.—Treatises posterior to Hippocrates, and composed about the age of Aristotle and Praxagoras.

1. On the Heart. 2. On Aliment. 3. On Fleshes. 4. On the Weeks. 5. Prorrhetic, ii. 6. On the Glands. 7. A fragment of the piece "On the Nature of Bones."

CLASS IX.—Series of Treatises, of Fragments and of Compilations, which have not been quoted by any ancient critic.

1. On the Physician. 2. On Honorable Conduct. 3. Pre-

cepts. 4. On Anatomy. 5. On the Sight. 6. On Dentition. 7. On the Nature of the Woman. 8. On the Excision of the Fœtus. 9. The eighth Section of the Aphorisms. 10. On the Nature of the Bones. 11. On Crisis. 12. On Critical Days. 13. On Purgative Medicines.

CLASS X.—Writings now lost, which once formed a part of the Collection:

1. On dangerous Wounds. 2. On Missiles and Wounds.
3. The first Book of Doses—the Small.

CLASS XI.—Apocryphal pieces—Letters and Discourses.

HIPPOCRATES

ON ANCIENT MEDICINE

WHOEVER having undertaken to speak or write on Medicine, have first laid down for themselves some hypothesis to their argument, such as hot, or cold, or moist, or dry, or whatever else they choose (thus reducing their subject within a narrow compass, and supposing only one or two original causes of diseases or of death among mankind), are all clearly mistaken in much that they say; and this is the more reprehensible as relating to an art which all men avail themselves of on the most important occasions, and the good operators and practitioners in which they hold in especial honor. For there are practitioners, some bad and some far otherwise, which, if there had been no such thing as Medicine, and if nothing had been investigated or found out in it, would not have been the case, but all would have been equally unskilled and ignorant of it, and everything concerning the sick would have been directed by chance. But now it is not so; for, as in all the other arts, those who practise them differ much from one another in dexterity and knowledge, so is it in like manner with Medicine. Wherefore I have not thought that it stood in need of an empty hypothesis, like those subjects which are occult and dubious, in attempting to handle which it is necessary to use some hypothesis; as, for example, with regard to things above us and things below the earth; if any one should treat of these and undertake to declare how they are constituted, the reader or hearer could not find out, whether what is delivered be true or false; for there is nothing which can be referred to in order to discover the truth.

But all these requisites belong of old to Medicine, and an origin and way have been found out, by which many and elegant discoveries have been made, during a length of time, and others will yet be found out, if a person possessed of the proper ability, and knowing those discoveries which have been made, should proceed from them to prosecute his investiga-

tions. But whoever, rejecting and despising all these, attempts to pursue another course and form of inquiry, and says he has discovered anything, is deceived himself and deceives others, for the thing is impossible. And for what reason it is impossible, I will now endeavor to explain, by stating and showing what the art really is. From this it will be manifest that discoveries cannot possibly be made in any other way. And most especially, it appears to me, that whoever treats of this art should treat of things which are familiar to the common people. For of nothing else will such a one have to inquire or treat, but of the diseases under which the common people have labored, which diseases and the causes of their origin and departure, their increase and decline, illiterate persons cannot easily find out themselves, but still it is easy for them to understand these things when discovered and expounded by others. For it is nothing more than that every one is put in mind of what had occurred to himself. But whoever does not reach the capacity of the illiterate vulgar and fails to make them listen to him, misses his mark. Wherefore, then, there is no necessity for any hypothesis.

For the art of Medicine would not have been invented at first, nor would it have been made a subject of investigation (for there would have been no need of it), if when men are indisposed, the same food and other articles of regimen which they eat and drink when in good health were proper for them, and if no others were preferable to these. But now necessity itself made medicine to be sought out and discovered by men, since the same things when administered to the sick, which agreed with them when in good health, neither did nor do agree with them. But to go still further back, I hold that the diet and food which people in health now use would not have been discovered, provided it had suited with man to eat and drink in like manner as the ox, the horse, and all other animals, except man, do of the productions of the earth, such as fruits, weeds, and grass; for from such things these animals grow, live free of disease, and require no other kind of food. And, at first, I am of opinion that man used the same sort of food, and that the present articles of diet had been discovered and invented only after a long lapse of time. For

when they suffered much and severely from this strong and brutish diet, swallowing things which were raw, unmixed, and possessing great strength, they became exposed to strong pains and diseases, and to early deaths. It is likely, indeed, that from habit they would suffer less from these things than we would now, but still they would suffer severely even then; and it is likely that the greater number, and those who had weaker constitutions, would all perish; whereas the stronger would hold out for a longer time, as even nowadays some, in consequence of using strong articles of food, get off with little trouble, but others with much pain and suffering. From this necessity it appears to me that they would search out the food befitting their nature, and thus discover that which we now use: and that from wheat, by macerating it, stripping it of its hull, grinding it all down, sifting, toasting, and baking it, they formed bread;¹ and from barley they formed cake (*maza*),² performing many operations in regard to it; they boiled, they roasted, they mixed, they diluted those things which are strong and of intense qualities with weaker things, fashioning them to the nature and powers of man, and considering that the stronger things Nature would not be able to manage if administered, and that from such things pains, diseases, and death would arise, but such as Nature could manage, that from them food, growth, and health, would arise. To such a discovery and investigation what more suitable name could one give than that of Medicine? since it was discovered for the health of man, for his nourishment and safety, as a substitute for that kind of diet by which pains, diseases, and deaths were occasioned.

And if this is not held to be an art, I do not object. For it is not suitable to call any one an artist of that which no one

¹ The invention of bread must have been very ancient, as is obvious from the circumstance of its being referred to a mythological name, that is to say, *Demeter* or *Ceres*. The ancients have paid great attention to the manufacture of bread.

² The *maza* was a sort of pudding or cake made from barley-meal mixed up with water, oil, milk, oxymel, hydromel or the like. It also was a very ancient invention, for it is mentioned in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod.

is ignorant of, but which all know from usage and necessity. But still the discovery is a great one, and requiring much art and investigation. Wherefore those who devote themselves to gymnastics and training, are always making some new discovery, by pursuing the same line of inquiry, where, by eating and drinking certain things, they are improved and grow stronger than they were.¹

Let us inquire then regarding what is admitted to be Medicine; namely, that which was invented for the sake of the sick, which possesses a name and practitioners, whether it also seeks to accomplish the same objects, and whence it derived its origin. To me, then, it appears, as I said at the commencement, that nobody would have sought for medicine at all, provided the same kinds of diet had suited with men in sickness as in good health. Wherefore, even yet, such races of men as make no use of medicine, namely, barbarians, and even certain of the Greeks, live in the same way when sick as when in health; that is to say, they take what suits their appetite, and neither abstain from, nor restrict themselves in anything for which they have a desire. But those who have cultivated and invented medicine, having the same object in view as those of whom I formerly spoke, in the first place, I suppose, diminished the quantity of the articles of food which they used, and this alone would be sufficient for certain of the sick, and be manifestly beneficial to them, although not to all, for there would be some so affected as not to be able to manage even small quantities of their usual food, and as such persons would seem to require something weaker, they invented soups, by mixing a few strong things with much water, and thus abstracting that which was strong in them by dilution and boiling. But such as could not manage even soups, laid them aside, and had recourse to drinks, and so regulated them as to mixture and quantity, that they were administered neither stronger nor weaker than what was required.

¹ Hippocrates studied the application of gymnastics to medicine under the great master of the art, Herodicus, who was a native of Selymbra in Thrace, and is generally represented as the father of medicinal gymnastics.

But this ought to be well known, that soups do not agree with certain persons in their diseases, but, on the contrary, when administered both the fevers and the pains are exacerbated, and it becomes obvious that what was given has proved food and increase to the disease, but a wasting and weakness to the body. But whatever persons so affected partook of solid food, or cake, or bread, even in small quantity, would be ten times and more decidedly injured than those who had taken soups, for no other reason than from the strength of the food in reference to the affection; and to whomsoever it is proper to take soups and not eat solid food, such a one will be much more injured if he eat much than if he eat little, but even little food will be injurious to him. But all the causes of the sufferance refer themselves to this rule, that the strongest things most especially and decidedly hurt man, whether in health or in disease.

What other object, then, had he in view who is called a physician, and is admitted to be a practitioner of the art, who found out the regimen and diet befitting the sick, than he who originally found out and prepared for all mankind that kind of food which we all now use, in place of the former savage and brutish mode of living? To me it appears that the mode is the same, and the discovery of a similar nature. The one sought to abstract those things which the constitution of man cannot digest, because of their wildness and intemperance, and the other those things which are beyond the powers of the affection in which any one may happen to be laid up. Now, how does the one differ from the other, except that the latter admits of greater variety, and requires more application, whereas the former was the commencement of the process?

And if one would compare the diet of sick persons with that of persons in health, he will find it not more injurious than that of healthy persons in comparison with that of wild beasts and of other animals. For, suppose a man laboring under one of those diseases which are neither serious and unsupportable, nor yet altogether mild, but such as that, upon making any mistake in diet, it will become apparent, as if he should eat bread and flesh, or any other of those articles which prove beneficial to healthy persons, and that, too, not

in great quantity, but much less than he could have taken when in good health; and that another man in good health, having a constitution neither very feeble, nor yet strong, eats of those things which are wholesome and strengthening to an ox or a horse, such as vetches, barley, and the like, and that, too, not in great quantity, but much less than he could take; the healthy person who did so would be subjected to no less disturbance and danger than the sick person who took bread or cake unseasonably. All these things are proofs that Medicine is to be prosecuted and discovered by the same method as the other.

And if it were simply, as is laid down, that such things as are stronger prove injurious, but such as are weaker prove beneficial and nourishing, both to sick and healthy persons, it were an easy matter, for then the safest rule would be to circumscribe the diet to the lowest point. But then it is no less mistake, nor one that injures a man less, provided a deficient diet, or one consisting of weaker things than what are proper, be administered. For, in the constitution of man, abstinence may enervate, weaken, and kill. And there are many other ills, different from those of repletion, but no less dreadful, arising from deficiency of food; wherefore the practice in those cases is more varied, and requires greater accuracy. For one must aim at attaining a certain measure, and yet this measure admits neither weight nor calculation of any kind, by which it may be accurately determined, unless it be the sensation of the body; wherefore it is a task to learn this accurately, so as not to commit small blunders either on the one side or the other, and in fact I would give great praise to the physician whose mistakes are small, for perfect accuracy is seldom to be seen, since many physicians seem to me to be in the same plight as bad pilots, who, if they commit mistakes while conducting the ship in a calm do not expose themselves, but when a storm and violent hurricane overtake them, they then, from their ignorance and mistakes, are discovered to be what they are, by all men, namely, in losing their ship. And thus bad and commonplace physicians, when they treat men who have no serious illness, in which case one may commit great mistakes without producing any formidable mischief,

(and such complaints occur much more frequently to men than dangerous ones): under these circumstances, when they commit mistakes, they do not expose themselves to ordinary men; but when they fall in with a great, a strong, and a dangerous disease, then their mistakes and want of skill are made apparent to all. Their punishment is not far off, but is swift in overtaking both the one and the other.¹

And that no less mischief happens to a man from unseasonable depletion than from repletion, may be clearly seen upon reverting to the consideration of persons in health. For, to some, with whom it agrees to take only one meal in the day, and they have arranged it so accordingly; whilst others, for the same reason, also take dinner, and this they do because they find it good for them, and not like those persons who, for pleasure or from any casual circumstance, adopt the one or the other custom: and to the bulk of mankind it is of little consequence which of these rules they observe, that is to say, whether they make it a practice to take one or two meals. But there are certain persons who cannot readily change their diet with impunity; and if they make any alteration in it for one day, or even for a part of a day, are greatly injured thereby. Such persons, provided they take dinner when it is not their wont, immediately become heavy and inactive, both in body and mind, and are weighed down with yawning, slumbering, and thirst; and if they take supper in addition, they are seized with flatulence, tormina, and diarrhœa, and to many this has been the commencement of a serious disease, when they have merely taken twice in a day the same food which they have been in the custom of taking once. And thus, also, if one who has been accustomed to dine, and this rule agrees with him, should not dine at the accustomed hour, he will straightway feel great loss of strength, trembling, and want of spirits, the eyes of such a person will become more pallid, his urine thick and hot, his mouth bitter; his bowels will seem, as it were, to hang loose; he will suffer from vertigo, lowness of spirit, and inactivity,—such are the effects; and if he should attempt to take at supper the same food which he was wont to

¹ He means both the pilot and physician.

partake of at dinner, it will appear insipid, and he will not be able to take it off; and these things, passing downwards with tormina and rumbling, burn up his bowels; he experiences insomnolency or troubled and disturbed dreams; and to many these symptoms are the commencement of some disease.

But let us inquire what are the causes of these things which happened to them. To him, then, who was accustomed to take only one meal in a day, they happened because he did not wait the proper time, until his bowels had completely derived benefit from and had digested the articles taken at the preceding meal, and until his belly had become soft, and got into a state of rest, but he gave it a new supply while in a state of heat and fermentation, for such bellies digest much more slowly, and require more rest and ease. And as to him who had been accustomed to dinner, since, as soon as the body required food, and when the former meal was consumed, and he wanted refreshment, no new supply was furnished to it, he wastes and is consumed from want of food. For all the symptoms which I describe as befalling to this man I refer to want of food. And I also say that all men who, when in a state of health, remain for two or three days without food, experience the same unpleasant symptoms as those which I described in the case of him who had omitted to take dinner.

Wherefore, I say, that such constitutions as suffer quickly and strongly from errors in diet, are weaker than others that do not; and that a weak person is in a state very nearly approaching to one in disease; but a person in disease is the weaker, and it is, therefore, more likely that he should suffer if he encounters anything that is unseasonable. It is difficult, seeing that there is no such accuracy in the Art, to hit always upon what is most expedient, and yet many cases occur in medicine which would require this accuracy, as we shall explain. But on that account, I say, we ought not to reject the ancient Art, as if it were not, and had not been properly founded, because it did not attain accuracy in all things, but rather, since it is capable of reaching to the greatest exactitude by reasoning, to receive it and admire its discoveries, made from a state of great ignorance, and as having been well and properly made, and not from chance.

But I wish the discourse to revert to the new method of those who prosecute their inquiries in the Art by hypothesis. For if hot, or cold, or moist, or dry, be that which proves injurious to man, and if the person who would treat him properly must apply cold to the hot, hot to the cold, moist to the dry, and dry to the moist—let me be presented with a man, not indeed one of a strong constitution, but one of the weaker, and let him eat wheat, such as it is supplied from the thrashing-floor, raw and unprepared, with raw meat, and let him drink water. By using such a diet I know that he will suffer much and severely, for he will experience pains, his body will become weak, and his bowels deranged, and he will not subsist long. What remedy, then, is to be provided for one so situated? Hot? or cold? or moist? or dry? For it is clear that it must be one or other of these. For, according to this principle, if it is one of these which is injuring the patient, it is to be removed by its contrary. But the surest and most obvious remedy is to change the diet which the person used, and instead of wheat to give bread, and instead of raw flesh, boiled, and to drink wine in addition to these; for by making these changes it is impossible but that he must get better, unless completely disorganized by time and diet. What, then, shall we say? whether that, as he suffered from cold, these hot things being applied were of use to him, or the contrary? I should think this question must prove a puzzler to whomsoever it is put. For whether did he who prepared bread out of wheat remove the hot, the cold, the moist, or the dry principle in it?—for the bread is consigned both to fire and to water, and is wrought with many things, each of which has its peculiar property and nature, some of which it loses, and with others it is diluted and mixed.

And this I know, moreover, that to the human body it makes a great difference whether the bread be fine or coarse; of wheat with or without the hull, whether mixed with much or little water, strongly wrought or scarcely at all, baked or raw—and a multitude of similar differences; and so, in like manner, with the cake (*maza*); the powers of each, too, are great, and the one nowise like the other. Whoever pays no attention to these things, or, paying attention, does not comprehend

them, how can he understand the diseases which befall a man? For, by every one of these things, a man is affected and changed this way or that, and the whole of his life is subjected to them, whether in health, convalescence, or disease. Nothing else, then, can be more important or more necessary to know than these things. So that the first inventors, pursuing their investigations properly, and by a suitable train of reasoning, according to the nature of man, made their discoveries, and thought the Art worthy of being ascribed to a god, as is the established belief. For they did not suppose that the dry or the moist, the hot or the cold, or any of these, are either injurious to man, or that man stands in need of them; but whatever in each was strong, and more than a match for a man's constitution, whatever he could not manage, that they held to be hurtful, and sought to remove. Now, of the sweet, the strongest is that which is intensely sweet; of the bitter, that which is intensely bitter; of the acid, that which is intensely acid; and of all things that which is extreme, for these things they saw both existing in man, and proving injurious to him. For there is in man the bitter and the salt, the sweet and the acid, the sour and the insipid,¹ and a multitude of other things having all sorts of powers both as regards quantity and strength. These, when all mixed and mingled up with one another, are not apparent, neither do they hurt a man; but when any of them is separate, and stands by itself, then it becomes perceptible, and hurts a man. And thus, of articles of food, those which are unsuitable and hurtful to man when administered, every one is either bitter, or intensely so, or saltish or acid, or something else intense and strong, and therefore we are disordered by them in like manner as we are by the secretions in the body. But all those things of which a man eats and drinks are devoid of any such intense and well-marked quality, such as bread, cake, and many other things of a similar nature which man is accustomed to use for food, with the exception of condiments and confectionaries, which are made to gratify the palate and for luxury. And from those things, when received into the body abundantly, there is no disorder nor dis-

¹ He alludes here to the secretions and humors in the body.

solution of the powers belonging to the body; but strength, growth, and nourishment result from them, and this for no other reason than because they are well mixed, have nothing in them of an immoderate character, nor anything strong, but the whole forms one simple and not strong substance.

I cannot think in what manner they who advance this doctrine, and transfer the Art from the cause I have described to hypothesis, will cure men according to the principle which they have laid down. For, as far as I know, neither the hot nor the cold, nor the dry, nor the moist, has ever been found unmixed with any other quality; but I suppose they use the same articles of meat and drink as all we other men do. But to this substance they give the attribute of being hot, to that cold, to that dry, and to that moist. Since it would be absurd to advise the patient to take something hot, for he would straightway ask what it is? so that he must either play the fool, or have recourse to some one of the well-known substances; and if this hot thing happen to be sour, and that hot thing insipid, and this hot thing has the power of raising a disturbance in the body (and there are many other kinds of heat, possessing many opposite powers), he will be obliged to administer some one of them, either the hot and the sour, or the hot and the insipid, or that which, at the same time, is cold and sour (for there is such a substance), or the cold and the insipid. For, as I think, the very opposite effects will result from either of these, not only in man, but also in a bladder, a vessel of wood, and in many other things possessed of far less sensibility than man; for it is not the heat which is possessed of great efficacy, but the sour and the insipid, and other qualities as described by me, both in man and out of man, and that whether eaten or drunk, rubbed in externally, and otherwise applied.

But I think that of all the qualities heat and cold exercise the least operation in the body, for these reasons: as long time as hot and cold are mixed up with one another they do not give trouble, for the cold is attempered and rendered more moderate by the hot, and the hot by the cold; but when the one is wholly separate from the other, then it gives pain; and at that season when cold is applied it creates some pain to a man, but

quickly, for that very reason, heat spontaneously arises in him without requiring any aid or preparation. And these things operate thus both upon men in health and in disease. For example, if a person in health wishes to cool his body during winter, and bathes either in cold water or in any other way, the more he does this, unless his body be fairly congealed, when he resumes his clothes and comes into a place of shelter, his body becomes more heated than before. And thus, too, if a person wish to be warmed thoroughly either by means of a hot bath or strong fire, and straightway having the same clothing on, takes up his abode again in the place he was in when he became congealed, he will appear much colder, and more disposed to chills than before. And if a person fan himself on account of a suffocating heat, and having procured refrigeration for himself in this manner, cease doing so, the heat and suffocation will be ten times greater in his case than in that of a person who does nothing of the kind. And, to give a more striking example, persons travelling in the snow, or otherwise in rigorous weather, and contracting great cold in their feet, their hands, or their head, what do they not suffer from inflammation and tingling when they put on warm clothing and get into a hot place? In some instances, blisters arise as if from burning with fire, and they do not suffer from any of those unpleasant symptoms until they become heated. So readily does either of these pass into the other; and I could mention many other examples. And with regard to the sick, is it not in those who experience a rigor that the most acute fever is apt to break out? And yet not so strongly neither, but that it ceases in a short time, and, for the most part, without having occasioned much mischief; and while it remains, it is hot, and passing over the whole body, ends for the most part in the feet, where the chills and cold were most intense and lasted longest; and, when sweat supervenes, and the fever passes off, the patient is much colder than if he had not taken the fever at all. Why then should that which so quickly passes into the opposite extreme, and loses its own powers spontaneously, be reckoned a mighty and serious affair? And what necessity is there for any great remedy for it?

One might here say—but persons in ardent fevers, pneu-

monia, and other formidable diseases, do not quickly get rid of the heat, nor experience these rapid alterations of heat and cold. And I reckon this very circumstance the strongest proof that it is not from heat simply that men get into the febrile state, neither is it the sole cause of the mischief, but that this species of heat is bitter, and that acid, and the other saltish, and many other varieties; and again there is cold combined with other qualities. These are what proves injurious; heat, it is true, is present also, possessed of strength as being that which conducts, is exacerbated and increased along with the other, but has no power greater than what is peculiar to itself.

With regard to these symptoms, in the first place those are most obvious of which we have all often had experience. Thus, then, in such of us as have a coryza and defluxion from the nostrils, this discharge is much more acrid than that which formerly was formed in and ran from them daily; and it occasions swelling of the nose, and it inflames, being of a hot and extremely ardent nature, as you may know, if you apply your hand to the place; and, if the disease remains long, the part becomes ulcerated although destitute of flesh and hard; and the heat in the nose ceases, not when the defluxion takes place and the inflammation is present, but when the running becomes thicker and less acrid, and more mixed with the former secretion, then it is that the heat ceases. But in all those cases in which this decidedly proceeds from cold alone, without the concurrence of any other quality, there is a change from cold to hot, and from hot to cold, and these quickly supervene, and require no coction. But all the others being connected, as I have said, with acrimony and intemperance of humors, pass off in this way by being mixed and concocted.

But such defluxions as are determined to the eyes being possessed of strong and varied acrimonies, ulcerate the eyelids, and in some cases corrode the cheeks and parts below the eyes upon which the flow, and even occasion rupture and erosion of the tunic which surrounds the eyeball. But pain, heat, and extreme burning prevail until the defluxions are concocted and become thicker, and concretions form about the eyes, and the coction takes place from the fluids being mixed up, diluted, and digested together. And in defluxions upon the throat,

from which are formed hoarseness, cynanche, erysipelas, and pneumonia, all these have at first saltish, watery, and acrid discharges, and with these the diseases gain strength. But when the discharges become thicker, more concocted, and are freed from all acrimony, then, indeed, the fevers pass away, and the other symptoms which annoyed the patient; for we must account those things the cause of each complaint, which, being present in a certain fashion, the complaint exists, but it ceases when they change to another combination. But those which originate from pure heat or cold, and do not participate in any other quality, will then cease when they undergo a change from cold to hot, and from hot to cold; and they change in the manner I have described before. Wherefore, all the other complaints to which man is subject arise from powers (qualities?). Thus, when there is an overflow of the bitter principle, which we call yellow bile, what anxiety, burning heat, and loss of strength prevail! but if relieved from it, either by being purged spontaneously, or by means of a medicine seasonably administered, the patient is decidedly relieved of the pains and heat; but while these things float on the stomach, unconcocted and undigested, no contrivance could make the pains and fever cease; and when there are acidities of an acrid and æruginous character, what varieties of frenzy, gnawing pains in the bowels and chest, and inquietude, prevail! and these do not cease until the acidities be purged away, or are calmed down and mixed with other fluids. The coction, change, attenuation, and thickening into the form of humors, take place through many and various forms; therefore the crises and calculations of time are of great importance in such matters; but to all such changes hot and cold are but little exposed, for these are neither liable to putrefaction nor thickening. What then shall we say of the change? that it is a combination (crasis) of these humors having different powers toward one another. But the hot does not lose its heat when mixed with any other thing except the cold; nor again, the cold, except when mixed with the hot. But all other things connected with man become the more mild and better in proportion as they are mixed with the more things besides. But a man is in the best possible state when they are concocted and

at rest, exhibiting no one peculiar quality; but I think I have said enough in explanation of them.

Certain sophists and physicians say that it is not possible for any one to know medicine who does not know what man is and how he was made and how constructed, and that whoever would cure men properly, must learn this in the first place. But this saying rather appertains to philosophy, as Empedocles and certain others have described what man in his origin is, and how he first was made and constructed. But I think whatever such has been said or written by sophist or physician concerning nature has less connection with the art of medicine than with the art of painting. And I think that one cannot know anything certain respecting nature from any other quarter than from medicine; and that this knowledge is to be attained when one comprehends the whole subject of medicine properly, but not until then; and I say that this history shows what man is, by what causes he was made, and other things accurately. Wherefore it appears to me necessary to every physician to be skilled in nature, and strive to know, if he would wish to perform his duties, what man is in relation to the articles of food and drink, and to his other occupations, and what are the effects of each of them to every one. And it is not enough to know simply that cheese is a bad article of food, as disagreeing with whoever eats of it to satiety, but what sort of disturbance it creates, and wherefore, and with what principle in man it disagrees; for there are many other articles of food and drink naturally bad which affect man in a different manner. Thus, to illustrate my meaning by an example, undiluted wine drunk in large quantity renders a man feeble; and everybody seeing this knows that such is the power of wine, and the cause thereof; and we know, moreover, on what parts of a man's body it principally exerts its action; and I wish the same certainty to appear in other cases. For cheese (since we used it as an example) does not prove equally injurious to all men, for there are some who can take it to satiety without being hurt by it in the least, but, on the contrary, it is wonderful what strength it imparts to those it agrees with; but there are some who do not bear it well, their constitutions are different, and they differ in this respect, that what in their

body is incompatible with cheese, is roused and put in commotion by such a thing; and those in whose bodies such a humor happens to prevail in greater quantity and intensity, are likely to suffer the more from it. But if the thing had been pernicious to the whole nature of man, it would have hurt all. Whoever knows these things will not suffer from it.

During convalescence from diseases, and also in protracted diseases, many disorders occur, some spontaneously, and some from certain things accidentally administered. I know that the common herd of physicians, like the vulgar, if there happen to have been any innovation made about that day, such as the bath being used, a walk taken, or any unusual food eaten, all which were better done than otherwise, attribute notwithstanding the cause of these disorders, to some of these things, being ignorant of the true cause but proscribing what may have been very proper. Now this ought not to be so; but one should know the effects of a bath or a walk unseasonably applied; for thus there will never be any mischief from these things, nor from any other thing, nor from repletion, nor from such and such an article of food. Whoever does not know what effect these things produce upon a man, cannot know the consequences which result from them, nor how to apply them.

And it appears to me that one ought also to know what diseases arise in man from the powers, and what from the structures. What do I mean by this? By powers, I mean intense and strong juices; and by structures, whatever conformations there are in man. For some are hollow, and from broad contracted into narrow; some expanded, some hard and round, some broad and suspended,¹ some stretched, some long, some dense, some rare and succulent,² some spongy and of loose texture.³ Now, then, which of these figures is the best calculated to suck to itself and attract humidity from another body? Whether what is hollow and expanded, or what is solid and round, or what is hollow, and from broad, gradually turning narrow? I think such as from hollow and broad are contracted into narrow: this may be ascertained otherwise from

¹ Meaning probably the diaphragm, with its membranes.

² Meaning the mammæ.

³ Such as the spleen and lungs.

obvious facts: thus, if you gape wide with the mouth you cannot draw in any liquid; but by protruding, contracting, and compressing the lips, and still more by using a tube, you can readily draw in whatever you wish. And thus, too, the instruments which are used for cupping are broad below and gradually become narrow, and are so constructed in order to suck and draw in from the fleshy parts. The nature and construction of the parts within a man are of a like nature; the bladder, the head, the uterus in woman; these parts clearly attract, and are always filled with a juice which is foreign to them. Those parts which are hollow and expanded are most likely to receive any humidity flowing into them, but cannot attract it in like manner. Those parts which are solid and round could not attract a humidity, nor receive it when it flows to them, for it would glide past, and find no place of rest on them. But spongy and rare parts, such as the spleen, the lungs, and the breasts, drink up especially the juices around them, and become hardened and enlarged by the accession of juices. Such things happen to these organs especially. For it is not with the spleen as with the stomach, in which there is a liquid, which it contains and evacuates every day; but when it (the spleen) drinks up and receives a fluid into itself, the hollow and lax parts of it are filled, even the small interstices; and, instead of being rare and soft, it becomes hard and dense, and it can neither digest nor discharge its contents: these things it suffers, owing to the nature of its structure. Those things which engender flatulence or tormina in the body, naturally do so in the hollow and broad parts of the body, such as the stomach and chest, where they produce rumbling noises; for when they do not fill the parts so as to be stationary, but have changes of place and movements, there must necessarily be noise and apparent movements from them. But such parts as are fleshy and soft, in these there occur torpor and obstructions, such as happen in apoplexy. But when it (the flatus?) encounters a broad and resisting structure, and rushes against such a part, and this happens when it is by nature not strong so as to be able to withstand it without suffering injury; nor soft and rare, so as to receive or yield to it, but tender, juicy, full of blood, and dense, like the liver, owing to its density and broadness, it

resists and does not yield. But flatus, when it obtains admission, increases and becomes stronger, and rushes toward any resisting object; but owing to its tenderness, and the quantity of blood which it (the liver) contains, it cannot be without uneasiness; and for these reasons the most acute and frequent pains occur in the region of it, along with suppurations and chronic tumors (phymata). These symptoms also occur in the site of the diaphragm, but much less frequently; for the diaphragm is a broad, expanded, and resisting substance, of a nervous (tendinous?) and strong nature, and therefore less susceptible of pain; and yet pains and chronic abscesses do occur about it.

There are both within and without the body many other kinds of structure, which differ much from one another as to sufferings both in health and disease; such as whether the head be small or large; the neck slender or thick, long or short; the belly long or round; the chest and ribs broad or narrow; and many others besides, all which you ought to be acquainted with, and their differences; so that knowing the causes of each, you may make the more accurate observations.

And, as has been formerly stated, one ought to be acquainted with the powers of juices, and what action each of them has upon man, and their alliances towards one another. What I say is this: if a sweet juice change to another kind, not from any admixture, but because it has undergone a mutation within itself; what does it first become?—bitter? salt? austere? or acid? I think acid. And hence, an acid juice is the most improper of all things that can be administered in cases in which a sweet juice is the most proper. Thus, if one should succeed in his investigations of external things, he would be the better able always to select the best; for that is best which is farthest removed from that which is unwholesome.

HIPPOCRATES

THE OATH

This piece is often referred to by ancient authors, and there seems little or no reason for questioning its authenticity. It is an interesting document, as exhibiting the practitioners of medicine in a very remote age, already formed into a regular corporation, bound by an oath to observe certain regulations, and having regular instructors in the art. The present piece would seem to be an indenture between a physician and his pupil; and it is most honorable to the profession, that so ancient a document pertaining to it, instead of displaying a narrow-minded and exclusive selfishness, inculcates a generous line of conduct, and enjoins an observance of the rules of propriety, and of the laws of domestic morality.

I SWEAR by Apollo the physician, and Æsculapius, and Health, and All-heal,¹ and all the gods and goddesses, that, according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this Oath and this stipulation—to reckon him who taught me this Art equally dear to me as my parents, to share my substance with him, and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this art, if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation; and that by precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the Art to my own sons, and those of my teachers, and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none others.

¹ Apollo, in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, was regarded as the healing god. In this capacity he appears in the very beginning of the *Iliad*, as the divinity who causes and removes the pestilence; and in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo he is introduced in the same capacity. Æsculapius was universally represented as the son of Apollo. He was the patron-god of the Asclepiadæ, or priest-physicians, to which order Hippocrates belonged. In the ancient systems of mythology he is described as having two sons, Podalirius and Machaon, and four daughters, Ægle, Jaso, Hygeia and Panacea. Of these it will be remarked that our author notices only the two last, whose names are here rendered Health and All-heal.

I will follow that system of régime which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion.¹ With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my Art. I will not cut persons laboring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work.² Into whatever houses I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption; and, further, from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves. Whatever, in connection with my professional practice or not, in connection with it, I see or hear, in the life of men, which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, as reckoning that all such should be kept secret. While I continue to keep this Oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art, respected by all men, in all times! But should I trespass and violate this Oath, may the reverse be my lot!

¹ We have here another notable instance how much our author was superior to his age in humanity as well as in intelligence; for his contemporary, or rather his immediate successor, Aristotle, treats very gravely of the practice of procuring abortion, and does not at all object to it, if performed before the child had quickened. Plato also alludes to the practice. Juvenal, in his Sixth Satire, speaks of artificial abortion as being a very common practice among the higher class of females in his time. The mode of procuring abortion is regularly described by Avicenna, and by Rhases,—not, however, to be applied for any wicked purpose, but in the case of women of small stature who had proved with child. The means recommended by these authors are, severe bleeding, especially from the ankles; leaping from a height; the administration of emmenagogues; the application of pessaries medicated with hellebore, stavisacre, mezereon, and the like fumigations; but more especially forcible dilatation of the os tincæ with a roll of paper, or a tube made of polished wood, or a quill. There can be no doubt, in short, that the ancients had anticipated all our modern methods of inducing premature delivery.

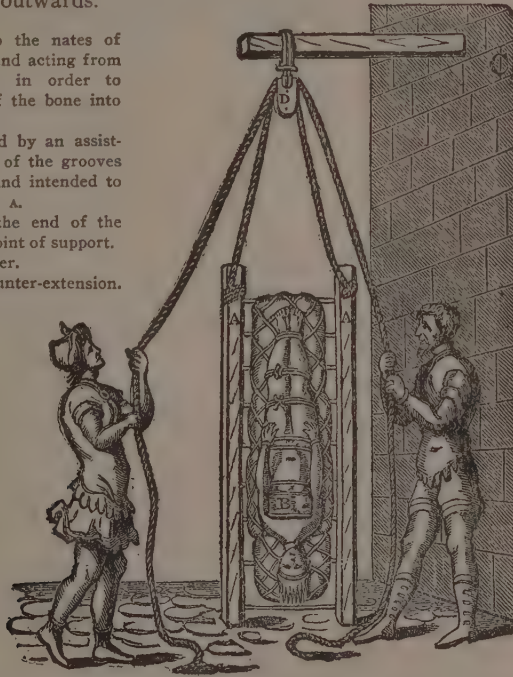
² This operation was in ancient times performed by a set of men apart from the regular profession.



1

FIG. 1. Representation of the mode of reducing dislocation of the thigh outwards.

- A. A lever applied to the nates of the luxated side, and acting from without inwards, in order to bring the head of the bone into its cavity.
- B. Another lever, held by an assistant, put into one of the grooves of the machine, and intended to act against lever A.
- C. Groove in which the end of the lever A takes its point of support.
- D. The luxated member.
- EE. Extension and counter-extension.



2

2. Representation of the ancient mode of performing succussion as given by Vidus Vidius in the Venetian edition of Galen's works.



1



2



3

FIG. 1. The bandage named *Monoculus*.
 2. The bandage named *Rhombus*.
 3. The bandage named *Semirhombus*.

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY

BY

STRABO

TRANSLATED BY

H. C. HAMILTON, ESQ.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY

LIFE OF STRABO

BY

W. FALCONER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD

INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF STRABO AND SUMMARY OF HIS HISTORY

STRABO, the author of this work, was born at Amasia, or Amasijas, a town situated in the gorge of the mountains through which passes the river Iris, now the Ieschil Irmak, in Pontus. He lived during the reign of Augustus, and the earlier part of the reign of Tiberius, but the exact date of his birth, as also of his death, are subjects of conjecture only. Coray and Groskurd conclude, though by a somewhat different argument, that he was born in the year B.C. 66, and the latter that he died A.D. 24.

The only information which we can obtain of the personal history of Strabo is to be collected from the scanty references made to himself in the course of this work; for although a writer of the Augustan age, his name and his works appear to have been generally unknown to his contemporaries, and to have been passed over in silence by subsequent authors who occupied themselves with the same branch of study. The work being written in Greek, and the subject itself not of a popular kind, would be hindrances to its becoming generally known; and its voluminous character would prevent many copies being made; moreover, the author himself, although for some time a resident at Rome, appears to have made Amasia his usual place of residence, and there to have composed his work. But wherever it was, he had the means of becoming acquainted with the chief public events that took place in the Roman Empire.

It is remarkable that of his father and his father's family he is totally silent, but of his mother and her connexions he has left us some notices. She was of a distinguished family who had settled at Cnossus in Crete, and her ancestors had been intimately connected with Mithridates Euergetes and Mithridates Eupator, kings of Pontus; their fortunes consequently depended on those princes.

Dorylaüs, her great grandfather, was a distinguished officer, and friend of Euergetes; but the latter being assassinated at Sinope, whilst Dorylaüs was engaged in levying troops in Crete, he determined to remain there. In that island he obtained the highest honours, having successfully, as general of the Cnossians, terminated a war between that people and the Gortynians. He married a Macedonian lady, of the name of Sterope; the issue of which marriage was Lagetas, Stratarchas, and a daughter. He died in Crete. Lagetas had a daughter, who, says Strabo, was "the mother of my mother."

Mithridates Eupator, who succeeded to the kingdom of Pontus on the death of his father, had formed from infancy a close friendship with another Dorylaüs, son of Philetærus (brother of the first-mentioned Dorylaüs), and besides conferring on him distinguished honours, appointed him high priest of Comana Pontica. The king extended also his protection to his cousins, Lagetas and Stratarchas, who were recalled from Crete. The prosperity of the family suddenly terminated by the discovery of an intrigue carried on by Dorylaüs with the Romans, for the overthrow of his benefactor. The motives assigned by Strabo for his disaffection and treachery were the declining prospects of the king, and the execution of his son Theophilus and a nephew Tibius.

Dorylaüs made overtures to Lucullus for the revolt of the kingdom of Pontus to the Romans, and in return received great promises of reward, which were never fulfilled. Lucullus ceased to command in the war, and was succeeded by Pompey, who, through enmity and jealousy, prevailed on the senate not to confirm the conditions entered into by his predecessor. As before observed, there is no mention of Strabo's father in the works which have come down to us. Malte-Brun, in his *Life of Strabo* in the *Biographie Universelle*, collects several passages tending to show that he was a Roman. The name of Strabo, or "squinting," originally Greek, was used by the Romans, and applied to the father of Pompey the Great, among others. How the geographer acquired this name is not related.

When a very young man, he received instruction in grammar and rhetoric from Aristodemus, at Nysa in Caria. He

afterwards studied philosophy under Xenarchus of Seleucia, the Peripatetic philosopher. Strabo does not say whether he heard him at Seleucia in Cilicia, or at Rome, where he afterwards taught.

Strabo also attended the lessons of Tyrannio of Amisus, the grammarian. This must have been at Rome; for Tyrannio was made prisoner by Lucullus, B.C. 71, and carried to Rome, probably not later than B.C. 66.

Strabo states that he studied the philosophy of Aristotle with Boethus of Sidon, who afterwards became a Stoic philosopher. Notwithstanding all these advantages, Strabo was not possessed of all the knowledge of his times, particularly in astronomy and mathematics, but he was well acquainted with history and the mythological traditions of his nation. He was a devout admirer of Homer, and acquainted with the other great poets.

The philosophical sect to which he belonged was the Stoic, as plainly appears from many passages in his Geography.

He wrote a History, which he describes as composed in a lucid style; it is cited by Plutarch, and also by Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities. It consisted of forty-three books, which began where the history of Polybius ended, and was probably continued to the battle of Actium. This valuable History is lost.

Strabo was a great traveller, and apparently had no professional or other occupation. We may therefore conclude that his father left him a good property. Much of his geographical information is the result of personal observation. In a passage of his 2nd book he thus speaks: "Our descriptions shall consist of what we ourselves have observed in our travels by land and sea, and of what we conceive to be credible in the statements and writings of others; for in a westerly direction we have travelled from Armenia to that part of Tyrrhenia which is over against Sardinia; and southward, from the Euxine to the frontiers of Ethiopia. Of all the writers on geography, not one can be mentioned who has travelled over a wider extent of the countries described than we have. Some may have gone farther to the west, but then they have never been so far east as we have; again, others

may have been farther east, but not so far west; and the same with respect to north and south. However, in the main, both we and they have availed ourselves of the reports of others, from which to describe the form, size, and other peculiarities of the country." He mentions having been in Egypt, the island Gyarus, Populonium near Elba, Comana in Cappadocia, Ephesus, Mylasa, Nysa, and Hierapolis in Phrygia. He visited Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Megara; but, on the whole, he does not appear to have seen more of Greece than in passing through it on his way to Brundisium, while proceeding to Rome. Populonium and Luna in Italy were the limit of his travels northwards. It is probable he obtained his information as to Spain, France, Britain, and Germany, while staying at Rome.

The first systematic writer on geography was ERATOSTHENES [see volume five, page 25], who died at the age of 80, about B. C. 196. His work consisted of three books.

There is no ground for considering the Geography of Strabo an improved edition of that of Eratosthenes. Strabo's work was intended for the information of persons in the higher departments of administration, and contains such geographical and historical information as those engaged in political employments cannot dispense with. Consistently with this object he avoids giving minute descriptions, except where the place is of real interest, but supplies some account of the important political events that had occurred in various countries, and sketches of the great men who had flourished or laboured in them. It is a lively, well-written book, intended to be read, and forms a striking contrast to the Geography of Ptolemy. His language is simple, appropriate to the matter, without affectation, and mostly clear and intelligible, except in those passages where the text has been corrupted. Like many other Greeks, Strabo looked upon Homer as the depository of all knowledge, but he frequently labours to interpret the poet's meaning in a manner highly uncritical. What Homer only partially knew or conjectured, Strabo has made the basis of his description, when he might have given an independent description, founded on the actual knowledge of his time: these observations apply especially to his books on

Greece. He does not duly appreciate Herodotus; nor does he discriminate between the stories which Herodotus tells simply as stories he had heard, and the accounts he relates as derived from personal observation. He likewise rejects the evidence of Pytheas of Marseilles as to the northern regions of Europe, and on more than one occasion calls him a liar, although it is very certain that Pytheas coasted along the whole distance from Gadeira, now Cadiz, in Spain, to the river he calls Tanais, but which was probably the Elbe; however, from the extracts which have been preserved it seems that he did not give simply the results of his own observations, but added reports which he collected respecting distant countries, without always drawing a distinction between what he saw himself and what was derived from the report of others.

Strabo's authorities are for the most part Greek, and he seems to have neglected the Latin memoirs and historical narratives of the campaigns of the Romans, which might have furnished him with many valuable geographical facts for the countries as well of Asia as of Europe. He made some use of Cæsar's description of France, the Alps, and Britain; he alludes to the voyage of Publius Crassus in speaking of the Cassiterides, and also the writings of Asinius Pollio, Fabius Pictor, and an anonymous writer whom he calls the Chorographer; but he might have obtained much additional information if he had taken pains to avail himself of the materials he could have procured during his stay at Rome.

Strabo considered that mathematical and astronomical knowledge was indispensable to the science of geography; he says that without some such assistance it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth; and that every one who undertakes to give an accurate description of a place, should describe its astronomical and geometrical relations, and explain its extent, distance, latitude, and climate. As the size of the earth, he says, has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall take for granted what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, and that bodies have a tendency towards its centre. He likewise says, the convexity of the sea is a further proof that the earth is spheroidal to those who have sailed; for they

cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but if raised on high, they at once become perceptible. He also observes, "our gnomons are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and common sense at once shows us that if the depth of the earth were infinite, such a revolution could not take place." But Strabo did not consider the exact division of the earth into climates or zones, in the sense in which Hipparchus used the term, and the statement of the latitudes and longitudes of places, which in many instances were pretty well determined in his time, as essential to his geographical description.

With regard to the lost continent of Atlantis, Strabo is very cautious in criticising Poseidonius; he observes, "he did well, too, in citing the opinion of Plato, that the tradition concerning the island of Atlantis might be received as something more than a mere fiction, it having been related by Solon, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that this island, almost as large as a continent, was formerly in existence, although now it had disappeared," and remarks that Poseidonius thought it better to quote this than to say, He who brought it into existence can also cause it to disappear, as the poet did the wall of the Achivi.

The following is a short summary of the seventeen books from these sources.

The first two books may be considered as an independent treatise, and by themselves form a remarkable contrast with the rest of the work, in the manner of treating the subjects, and in the difficulties which they present both of language and matter.

In the 1st book, the author enters into a long discussion on the merits of Homer, whom he considers to have been the earliest geographer, and defends him against the errors and misconceptions of Eratosthenes. He corrects some faults of Eratosthenes, and, in his inquiry concerning the natural changes of the earth's surface defends Eratosthenes against Hipparchus. In conclusion, he again corrects Eratosthenes as regards the magnitude and divisions of the inhabited world. The most remarkable passage in this book is that in which he conjectures the existence of the great Western Continents.

The 2nd book is chiefly occupied with some accounts of mathematical geography, and the Author defends against Hipparchus the division of the inhabited world adopted by Eratosthenes into sections. Then follows a criticism of the division of the earth into six zones, as taught by Poseidonius and Polybius. The pretended circumnavigation of Africa by Eudoxus is referred to, as well as some geographical errors of Polybius. He makes observations of his own on the form and size of the earth in general, as well as of the inhabited portion of it, describing the method of representing it on a spherical or plane surface. A short outline is given of seas, countries, and nations; and he concludes with remarks on the system of climates, and on the shadows projected by the sun.

The 3rd book commences with Iberia, and the subject of Europe is continued to the end of the 10th book. His references are the *Periplus* of Artemidorus, Polybius, and Poseidonius; all three of whom wrote as eye-witnesses. For descriptions and measurement of distances, Artemidorus is chiefly depended upon. The information possessed by Eratosthenes of these countries was meagre and uncertain. For the nations of southern Iberia, he adopts the account of Asclepiades of Myrlea, who had lived and been educated there. Some statements also are borrowed from Roman authors.

The 4th book contains Gallia, according to the four divisions then existing, viz. Gallia Narbonensis, Aquitanensis, Lugdunensis, and the Belgæ; also Britain, with Ierne, and Thule; and lastly, the Alps.

Here Eratosthenes and Ephorus are of little service. His chief guide is Julius Cæsar, whom he frequently quotes *verbatim*. Polybius is his guide for the Alps. Pytheas is the source of some scanty information respecting Ierne and Thule. Throughout his description he adds accounts obtained at Rome from travellers.

The 5th book commences with a general sketch of Italy, and refers principally to northern Italy. Dividing its history into ancient and modern, his chief reference for the former is Polybius, and for the latter we are indebted to the observations of the author himself, or to accounts received from others. Still the description of Upper Italy is poor and unsatisfactory,

from the author not sufficiently availing himself of Roman resources. Then follows some account of Etruria with its neighbouring islands, Umbria, Samnium, Latium, and Rome, chiefly the result of the author's own researches and observations. The book concludes with some remarks on the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Samnium and Campania.

The 6th book is a continuation of the same subject. Magna Græcia, Sicily, and the adjacent islands, are noticed, and the author concludes with a short discussion on the extent of the Roman Empire. Descriptions of some places are from his own observations; but the sources whence he takes his other account of Italy and the islands are the works of Polybius, Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, Ephorus, Fabius Pictor, Cæcilius (of Cale Acte in Sicily), and some others, besides an anonymous chorographer, supposed to be a Roman, from the circumstance of his distances being given, not in stadia, but in Roman miles.

The 7th book relates, first, to the people north of the Danube,—the Germans, Cimbri, Getæ, Dacians (particularly the European Scythians), and the Crimea; secondly, to the people south of the Danube, viz. those inhabiting Illyricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, the eastern coast of Thrace to the Euxine, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, and the Hellespont. The latter part of this book is not preserved entire in any manuscript, but Kramer has, in his own opinion, succeeded in restoring from the epitomes left to us the greater part of what was wanting. Of Germany, Strabo had tolerable information, but he nowhere states whence it is derived; he may have been partly indebted to Asinius Pollio, whose work he had already examined for the Rhine. For the remaining northern countries, he had Poseidonius and the historians of the Mithridatic war. For the southern countries, he had a lost work of Aristotle on forms of government, Polybius, Poseidonius, and his chief disciples, Theopompus and Ephorus. Incidentally also he quotes Homer and his interpreters, and Philochorus.

The three following books are dedicated to the description of Greece, with the adjacent islands. The 8th comprises the Peloponnesus and its well-known seven provinces, Elis, Mes-

senia, Laconia, Argolis, Corinthia with Sicyonia, Achaia, and Arcadia: the 9th, Attica, with Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, both Locri and Thessaly: the 10th, Eubœa, Ætolia, and Acarnania, with the islands. After a long digression on the subject of the Curetes, the description of Europe closes with some account of Crete and the islands of the Ægean Sea. The design and construction of these three books differ considerably from the preceding. Homer is adopted as the foundation of his geographical descriptions; some things Strabo must have learnt as an eye-witness, but more from *vivâ voce* communications at Athens or at Corinth. All is interwoven together without any clear line of separation, and the result is some confusion. Athens, Corinth, Argos, and their neighbourhood, were the only parts of Greece our author saw. Heeren, indeed, maintains that he had seen the whole of it, and the Archipelago, but satisfactory proof of this is altogether wanting.

The 11th book commences with the description of the countries separated from Europe by the Tanais or Don. Asia is divided by our author (who here follows Eratosthenes) into two parts by the Taurus, which runs in a direction east and west. The northern part of Asia (or this side Taurus) is divided into four parts. The first part comprises the countries lying between the Don, the Sea of Azoff, the Euxine, and the Caspian; the second, the countries east of the Caspian; and the third, the countries south of Caucasus. These three parts of the first or northern division of Asia are contained in the 10th book; the remaining fourth part occupies the 12th, 13th, and 14th books.

The chief authorities for the first part are, besides information obtained from travellers and merchants at Amasia, Herodotus for the Don; Artemidorus and Eratosthenes for distances; Poseidonius and Theophanes of Mitylene, historians, of the Mithridatic war; Metrodorus of Skepsis; Hypsicrates of Amisus; and Cleitarchus for the digression on the Amazons.

For the second part, are principally Patrocles and Aristobulus, historians of the Asiatic campaigns of Alexander. For the third part, or Media and Armenia, are, Delliis, who wrote

a history of the war against the Parthians, in which he had served under Antony; Apollonides of Nicæa, who wrote a *Periplus* of Europe; and other writers before mentioned.

The 12th book commences with a detailed account of Anatolia, and contains the northern part. It was to have been expected that Strabo would have described most of these countries as an eye-witness, lying, as they do, so near his native country Cappadocia. But this expectation vanishes, when we discover the meagreness of his account. With the exception of Pontus and Cappadocia, he had seen little of the rest, and depends upon historians and oral information. For earlier times, his authorities are Herodotus, Hellanicus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Artemidorus, Apollodorus, and Demetrius of Skepsis; for later times, historians of the wars of Mithridates and Pompey. For the ancient history of the Mysians and Phrygians, he is indebted to the celebrated Lydian historian Xanthus, and Menecrates.

The 13th book contains the description of Anatolia. The greater part of the book is occupied with a dissertation on the Troad. Strabo had travelled over the country himself, but his great authority is Homer and Demetrius of Skepsis, the author of a work in twenty-six books, containing an historical and geographical commentary on that part of the second book of the *Iliad*, in which the forces of the Trojans are enumerated. A learned digression on the Leleges, Cilices, and Pelasgi, who preceded the Æolians and Ionians in the occupation of the country, is principally taken from Menecrates and Demetrius of Skepsis. The description then turns to the interior, and the account of the Æolian cities is probably due to Poseidonius. Throughout this book are evidences of great care and desire for accuracy.

The 14th book continues with the remainder of Anatolia, and an account of the islands Samos, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The authorities followed are, on the whole, the same as in the previous book—Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus, Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Poseidonius; besides Pherecydes of Syros, who wrote on the Ionian migration, and Anaximenes of Lampsacus, the author of a history in Greek of the Milesian colonies. For Caria, he had the historians of Alexander

and an author named Philip, who wrote on the Leleges and Carians. For Cyprus he had Damastes and Eratosthenes.

The 15th and 16th books contain a description of the second portion of Asia, namely, the southern or the other side of Taurus. In the 15th book, Strabo describes India and Persia, the latter in two chief divisions, viz. Ariana or East Persia, and Persis or West Persia. These countries Strabo never saw; his description, therefore, is founded on the authority of travellers and historians. The topography of India is meagre, and limited to a few towns and rivers; but his account of the people of the country is more copious, he being supplied with materials from the historians of Alexander and of the campaigns of Seleucus in India. He looks on Megasthenes, Onesicritus, Deimachus, and Cleitarchus as fabulous writers: but his confidence rests chiefly on Patrocles, Aristobulus (one of the companions and historians of Alexander), and Nearchus, the chief commander of Alexander's fleet. Artemidorus and Nicolaus of Damascus are occasionally consulted. For Ariana or East Persia, he had for his principal authority Eratosthenes; and for Persia Proper, he had, besides the above authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Polycletus of Larissa, an historian of Alexander.

In the 16th book, he describes the westerly half of south Asia, viz. Assyria with Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, the coast of Ethiopia, and lastly, Arabia. For the three first countries (the old Assyrian kingdom), his chief authorities are, besides some of Alexander's historians, Eratosthenes, Poseidonius, and Herodotus; for the remainder he had, in addition to the same writers, Artemidorus, and probably also Nicolaus of Damascus. The account of Moses and the Jews, Heeren surmises, comes from Poseidonius, but it probably proceeds from oral communication had in Egypt; of these countries our author could describe nothing as an eye-witness, except the north-west of Syria. The accounts of Arabia, the Indian and the Red Seas, are from Agatharchides; and much that he describes of Arabia was obtained from his friends, Ælius Gallus and the Stoic, Athenodorus.

The 17th book concludes the work with the description of

Egypt, Ethiopia, and the north coast of Africa. Strabo had travelled through the whole of Egypt, as far as Syene and Philæ, and writes with the decided tone of an eye-witness. Much verbal information, also, he collected at Alexandria. His most important written authorities are, for the Nile, Eratosthenes (who borrowed from Aristotle), Eudoxus, and Aristo. For the most remarkable events of Egyptian history, he had Polybius, and for later times probably Poseidonius, besides *vivâ voce* accounts.

For the oracle at Ammon, he had the historians of Alexander; for Ethiopia, the accounts of Petronius, who had carried on war there, Agatharchides, and Herodotus. Of Libya of Africa Proper he had nothing new or authentic to say. Besides Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, and Poseidonius, his chief authorities, he had Iphicrates, who wrote on the plants and animals of Libya. The whole concludes with a short notice of the Roman Empire.

The codices or manuscripts which exist of Strabo's work appear to be copies of a single manuscript existing in the middle ages, but now lost. From the striking agreement of errors and omissions in all now extant (with such differences only as can be accounted for, arising from the want of ability or carelessness of the copyist), it appears most probable that to this single manuscript we are indebted for the preservation of the work. Strabo himself describes the carelessness of bad scribes both at Rome and Alexandria, in the following expressive language: "Some vendors of books, also, employed bad scribes and neglected to compare the copies with the originals. This happens in the case of other books, which are copied for sale both here and at Alexandria."

STRABO

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY

IF the scientific investigation of any subject be the proper avocation of the philosopher, Geography, the science of which we propose to treat, is certainly entitled to a high place; and this is evident from many considerations. They who first ventured to handle the matter were distinguished men. Homer, Anaximander the Milesian, and Hecataëus, (his fellow-citizen according to Eratosthenes,) Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicæarchus, Ephorus, with many others, and after these Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Posidonius, all of them philosophers.

Nor is the great learning, through which alone this subject can be approached, possessed by any but a person acquainted with both human and divine things, and these attainments constitute what is called philosophy. In addition to its vast importance in regard to social life, and the art of government, Geography unfolds to us the celestial phenomena, acquaints us with the occupants of the land and ocean, and the vegetation, fruits, and peculiarities of the various quarters of the earth, a knowledge of which marks him who cultivates it as a man earnest in the great problem of life and happiness.

Admitting this, let us examine more in detail the points we have advanced.

And first, we maintain, that both we and our predecessors, amongst whom is Hipparchus, do justly regard Homer as the founder of geographical science, for he not only excelled all, ancient as well as modern, in the sublimity of his poetry, but also in his experience of social life. Thus it was that he not only exerted himself to become familiar with as many historic facts as possible, and transmit them to posterity, but also with the various regions of the inhabited land and sea, some intimately, others in a more general manner. For otherwise he would not have reached the utmost limits of the earth, traversing it in his imagination.

The Isles of the Blest¹ are on the extreme west of Maurusia,² near where its shore runs parallel to the opposite coast of Spain; and it is clear he considered these regions also Blest, from their contiguity to the Islands.

He tells us, also, that the Ethiopians are far removed, and bounded by the ocean; far removed,—

The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,
These eastward situate, those toward the west.
—Odyssey i, Cowper's translation.

Nor was he mistaken in calling them separated into two divisions, as we shall presently show: and next to the ocean,—

For to the banks of the Oceanus,
Where Ethiopia holds a feast to Jove,
He journey'd yesterday.
—Iliad i, Cowper's translation.

Speaking of the Bear, he implies that the most northern part of the earth is bounded by the ocean:

Only star of these denied
To slake his beams in Ocean's briny baths.
—Iliad xviii, Cowper's translation.

Now, by the "Bear" and the "Wain," he means the Arctic Circle; otherwise he would never have said, "It *alone* is deprived of the baths of the ocean," when such an *infinity* of stars is to be seen continually revolving in that part of the hemisphere. Let no one any longer blame his ignorance for being merely acquainted with one Bear, when there are two. It is probable that the second was not considered a constellation until, on the Phœnicians specially designating it, and em-

¹ The Isles of the Blest are the same as the Fortunate Isles of other geographers. It is clear from Strabo's description that he alludes to the Canary Islands; but as it is certain that Homer had never heard of these, it is probable that the passages adduced by Strabo have reference to the Elysian Fields of Baïa in Campania.

² The Maurusia of the Greeks (the Mauritania of the Latins) is now known as Algiers and Fez in Africa.

ploying it in navigation, it became known as one to the Greeks.¹ Such is the case with the Hair of Berenice, and Canopus, whose names are but of yesterday; and, as Aratus remarks, there are numbers which have not yet received any designation. Heraclitus figuratively describes the Arctic Circle as the Bear,—“The Bear is the limit of the dawn and of the evening, and from the region of the Bear we have fine weather.” Now it is not the constellation of the Bear, but the Arctic Circle, which is the limit of the rising and the setting stars.

By the Bear, then, which he elsewhere calls the Wain, and describes as pursuing Orion, Homer means us to understand the Arctic Circle; and by the ocean, that horizon into which, and out of which, the stars rise and set. When he says that the Bear turns round and is deprived of the ocean, he was aware that the Arctic Circle always extended to the sign opposite the most northern point of the horizon. Adapting the words of the poet to this view, by that part of the earth nearest to the ocean we must understand the horizon, and by the Arctic Circle that which extends to the signs which seem to our senses to touch in succession the most northern point of the horizon. Thus, according to him, this portion of the earth is washed by the ocean. With the nations of the North he was well acquainted, although he does not mention them by name, and indeed at the present day there is no regular title by which they are all distinguished. He informs us of their mode of life, describing them as “wanderers,” “noble milkers of mares,” “living on cheese,” and “without wealth.”²

¹ We are informed by Diogenes Laertius, that Thales was the first to make known to the Greeks the constellation of the Lesser Bear. Now this philosopher flourished 600 years before the Christian era, and consequently some centuries after Homer's death. The name of *Phoinikē*, which it received from the Greeks, is proof that Thales owed his knowledge of it to the Phœnicians.

² Iliad xiii. Thrace (the present Roumelia) was indisputably the most northern nation known to Homer. He names the people *Hippemolgoi*, or living on mares' milk, because in his time they were a nomad race. Strabo evidently gives a forced meaning to the words

In the following speech of Juno, he states that the ocean surrounds the earth.

For to the green earth's utmost bounds I go,
To visit there the parent of the gods,
Oceanus.

—Iliad xiv, Cowper's translation.

Does he not here assert that ocean bounds all its extremities, and does it not surround these extremities? Again, in the *Hoplopœia* [the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*], he places the ocean in a circle round the border of Achilles' shield. Another proof of the extent of his knowledge, is his acquaintance with the ebb and flow of the sea, calling it "the ebbing ocean." [*Iliad* xviii, *Odys.* xx.] Again,

Each day she thrice disgorges, and again
Thrice drinks, insatiate, the deluge down.¹

—Odyssey xii, Cowper's translation.

The assertion of thrice, instead of twice, is either an error of the author, or a blunder of the scribe, but the phenomenon is the same, and the expression soft-flowing, has reference to the flood-tide, which has a gentle swell, and does not flow with a full rush. Posidonius believes that where Homer describes the rocks as at one time covered with the waves, and at another left bare, and when he compares the ocean to a river, he alludes to the flow of the ocean. The first supposition is cor-

of the poet, when he attempts to prove his acquaintance with the Scythians and Sarmatians.

¹ Gosselin remarks, "I do not find any thing in these different passages of Homer to warrant the conclusion that he was aware of the ebb and flow of the tide; every one knows that the movement is hardly perceptible in the Mediterranean. In the Euripus, which divides the Isle of Negropont from Bœotia, the waters are observed to flow in opposite directions several times a day. It was from this that Homer probably drew his ideas; and the regular current of the Hellespont, which carries the waters of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, led him to think that the whole ocean, or Mediterranean, had one continued flow like the current of a river."

rect, but for the second there is no ground; inasmuch as there can be no comparison between the flow, much less the ebb of the sea, and the current of a river. There is more probability in the explanation of Crates, that Homer describes the whole ocean as deep-flowing, ebbing, and also calls it a river, and that he also describes a part of the ocean as a river, and the flow of a river; and that he is speaking of a part, and not the whole, when he thus writes:—

When down the smooth Oceanus impell'd
By prosperous gales, my galley, once again,
Cleaving the billows of the spacious deep,
Had reach'd the Ææan isle.

—Odyssey xii, Cowper's translation.

He does not, however, mean the whole, but the flow of the river in the ocean, which forms but a part of the ocean. Crates says, he speaks of an estuary or gulf, extending from the winter tropic towards the south pole.¹ Now any one quitting this, might still be in the ocean; but for a person to leave the whole and still to be in the whole, is an impossibility. But Homer says, that leaving the flow of the river, the ship entered on the waves of the sea, which is the same as the ocean. If you take it otherwise you make him say, that departing from the ocean he came to the ocean. But this requires further discussion.

Perception and experience alike inform us, that the earth we inhabit is an island: since wherever men have approached the termination of the land, the sea, which we designate ocean, has been met with: and reason assures us of the similarity of those places which our senses have not been permitted to

¹ This direction would indicate a gulf, the seaward side of which should be opposite the Libo-notus of the ancients. Now the mutilated passage of Crates has reference to the opening of the twelfth book of the Odyssey, descriptive of Ulysses' departure from Cimmeria, after his visit to the infernal regions. Those Cimmerians were the people who inhabited Campania, and the land round Baïa, near to lake Avernus, and the entrance into Hades. As these places are situated close to the bay of Naples, which occupies the exact position described by Crates, it is probable this was the bay he intended.

survey. For in the east¹ the land occupied by the Indians, and in the west by the Iberians and Maurusians,² is wholly encompassed by water, and so is the greater part on the south³ and north.⁴ And as to what remains as yet unexplored by us, because navigators, sailing from opposite points, have not hitherto fallen in with each other, it is not much, as any one may see who will compare the distances between those places with which we are already acquainted. Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses so placed as to prevent circumnavigation: how much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted! Those who have returned from an attempt to circumnavigate the earth, do not say they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, for the sea remained perfectly open, but through want of resolution, and the scarcity of provision. This theory too accords better with the ebb and flow of the ocean, for the phenomenon, both in the increase and diminution, is every where identical, or at all events has but little difference, as if produced by the agitation of one sea, and resulting from one cause.

We must not credit Hipparchus, who combats this opinion, denying that the ocean is every where similarly affected; or that even if it were, it would not follow that the Atlantic flowed in a circle, and thus continually returned into itself. Seleucus, the Babylonian, is his authority for this assertion. For a further investigation of the ocean and its tides we refer to Posidonius and Athenodorus, who have fully discussed this subject: we will now only remark that this view agrees better with the uniformity of the phenomenon; and that the greater the amount of moisture surrounding the earth, the easier would the heavenly bodies be supplied with vapours from thence.

¹ What Strabo calls the eastern side of the continent, comprises that portion of India between Cape Comorin and Tana-serim, to the west of the kingdom of Siam: further than which he was not acquainted.

² Strabo's acquaintance with Western Africa did not go further than Cape Nun, 214 leagues distant from the Strait of Gibraltar.

³ By the south is intended the whole land from the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea to Cape Comorin.

⁴ From Cape Finisterre to the mouth of the Elbe.

Homer, besides the boundaries of the earth, which he fully describes, was likewise well acquainted with the Mediterranean. Starting from the Pillars [the rocks of Gibraltar and Ceuta] this sea is encompassed by Libya, Egypt, and Phœnicia, then by the coasts opposite Cyprus, the Solymi,¹ Lycia, and Caria, and then by the shore which stretches between Mycale,² and Troas, and the adjacent islands, every one of which he mentions, as well as those of the Propontis [Sea of Marmora] and the Euxine, as far as Colchis, and the locality of Jason's expedition. Furthermore, he was acquainted with the Cimmerian Bosphorus,³ having known the Cimmerians,⁴ and that not merely by name, but as being familiar with themselves. About his time, or a little before, they had ravaged the whole country, from the Bosphorus to Ionia. Their climate he characterizes as dismal, in the following lines:—

With clouds and darkness veil'd, on whom the sun
Deigns not to look with his beam-darting eye,

* * * * *

But sad night canopies the woeful race.

—Odyssey xi, Cowper's translation.

He must also have been acquainted with the Ister, [Danube] since he speaks of the Mysians, a Thracian race, dwelling on the banks of the Ister. He knew also the whole Thracian⁵ coast adjacent thereto, as far as the Peneus,⁶ for he mentions individually the Pæonians, Athos, the Axius,⁷ and the neighbouring islands. From hence to Thesprotis⁸ is the Grecian

¹ The mountaineers of the Taurus, between Lycia and Pisidia.

² A mountain of Ionia near to the Meander, and opposite the Isle of Samos.

³ The Strait of Caffa, which connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof.

⁴ The Cimmerians, spoken of in Homer, were undoubtedly the inhabitants of Campania, not those of the Bosphorus.

⁵ Ancient Thrace consisted of the modern provinces of Bulgaria and Roumelia.

⁶ A river of Thessaly, named at present Salampria.

⁷ Now the river Vardari.

⁸ Thesprotis, in Epirus, opposite Corfu.

shore, with the whole of which he was acquainted. He was besides familiar with the whole of Italy, and speaks of Temese¹ and the Sicilians, as well as the whole of Spain² and its fertility, as we have said before. If he omits various intermediate places this must be pardoned, for even the compiler of a Geography overlooks numerous details. We must forgive him too for intermingling fabulous narrative with his historical and instructive work. This should not be complained of; nevertheless, what Eratosthenes says is false, that the poets aim at amusement, not instruction, since those who have treated upon the subject most profoundly, regard poesy in the light of a primitive philosophy. But we shall refute Eratosthenes³ more at length, when we have occasion again to speak of Homer.

What we have already advanced is sufficient to prove that poet the father of geography. Those who followed in his track are also well known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecataeus the Milesian. Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecataeus left a work on the same subject, which we can identify as his by means of his other writings.

Many have testified to the amount of knowledge which this subject requires, and Hipparchus, in his *Strictures on Eratosthenes*, well observes, "that no one can become really proficient in geography, either as a private individual or as a professor, without an acquaintance with astronomy, and a knowledge of eclipses. For instance, no one can tell whether Alexandria in Egypt were north or south of Babylon, nor yet the intervening distance, without observing the latitudes."⁴ Again, the only

¹ Afterwards named Temsa. This town was in Citerior Calabria. Some think Torre de Nocera stands on the ancient site.

² This is a misstatement.

³ See account of Eratosthenes in volume five, page 25.

⁴ The ancients portioned out the globe by bands or zones parallel to the equator, which they named *climata*. The extent of each zone was determined by the length of the solstitial day, and thus each diminished in extent according as it became more distant from the equator. The moderns have substituted a mode of reckoning the degree by the

means we possess of becoming acquainted with the longitudes of different places is afforded by the eclipses of the sun and moon." Such are the very words of Hipparchus.

Every one who undertakes to give an accurate description of a place, should be particular to add its astronomical and geometrical relations, explaining carefully its extent, distance, degrees of latitude, and "climate." Even a builder before constructing a house, or an architect before laying out a city, would take these things into consideration; much more should he who examines the whole earth: for such things in a peculiar manner belong to him. In small distances a little deviation north or south does not signify, but when it is the whole circle of the earth, the north extends to the furthest confines of Scythia, [Tartary] or Keltica, [France] and the south to the extremities of Ethiopia: there is a wide difference here. The case is the same should we inhabit India or Spain, one in the east, the other far west, and, as we are aware, the antipodes¹ to each other.

The motions of the sun and stars, and the centripetal force meet us on the very threshold of such subjects, and compel us to the study of astronomy, and the observation of such phenomena as each of us may notice; in which too, very considerable differences appear, according to the various points of observation. How could any one undertake to write accurately and with propriety on the differences of the various parts of the earth, who was ignorant of these matters? and although, if the undertaking were of a popular character, it might not be advisable to enter thoroughly into detail, still we should endeavour to include every thing which could be comprehended by the general reader.

He who has thus elevated his mind, will he be satisfied with any thing less than the whole world? If in his anxiety accurately to portray the inhabited earth, he has dared to survey heaven, and make use thereof for purposes of instruction,

elevation of the pole, which gives the latitudes with much greater accuracy.

¹ Strabo here makes an improper use of the term antipodes; the antipodes of Spain and India being in the southern hemisphere.

would it not seem childish were he to refrain from examining the whole earth, of which the inhabited is but a part, its size, its features, and its position in the universe; whether other portions are inhabited besides those on which we dwell, and if so, their amount? What is the extent of the regions not peopled? what their peculiarities, and the cause of their remaining as they are? Thus it appears that the knowledge of geography is connected with meteorology¹ and geometry, that it unites the things of earth to the things of heaven, as though they were nearly allied, and not separated.

As far as heaven from earth.

To the various subjects which it embraces let us add natural history, or the history of the animals, plants, and other different productions of the earth and sea, whether serviceable or useless, and my original statement will, I think, carry perfect conviction with it.

That he who should undertake this work would be a benefactor to mankind, reason and the voice of antiquity agree. The poets feign that they were the wisest heroes who travelled and wandered most in foreign climes: and to be familiar with many countries, and the disposition of the inhabitants, is, according to them, of vast importance. Nestor prides himself on having associated with the Lapithæ,² to whom he went, "having been invited thither from the Apian³ land afar."

So does Menelaus:—

Cyprus, Phœnicia, Sidon, and the shores
Of Egypt, roaming without hope I reach'd;
In distant Ethiopia thence arrived,
And Libya, where the lambs their foreheads show
With budding horns defended soon as year'd.

—Odyssey iv, Cowper's translation.

¹ Meteorology, from *meteōros* aloft, is the science which describes and explains the various phenomena which occur in the region of the atmosphere.

² A people of Thessaly, on the banks of the Peneus.

³ The former name of the Morea, and more ancient than Peloponnesus. Iliad i.

Adding as a peculiarity of the country,

There thrice within the year the flocks produce. †

—Idem.

And of Egypt :—" Where the sustaining earth is most prolific."
[Odyssey iv.] And Thebes,

the city with an hundred gates,

Whence twenty thousand chariots rush to war.

—Iliad ix, Cowper's translation.

Such information greatly enlarges our sphere of knowledge, by informing us of the nature of the country, its botanical and zoological peculiarities. To these should be added its marine history; for we are in a certain sense amphibious, not exclusively connected with the land, but with the sea as well. Hercules, on account of his vast experience and observation, was described as "skilled in mighty works." [Odyssey xxi.]

All that we have previously stated is confirmed both by the testimony of antiquity and by reason. One consideration however appears to bear in a peculiar manner on the case in point; viz. the importance of geography in a political view. For the sea and the earth in which we dwell furnish theatres for action; limited, for limited actions; vast, for grander deeds; but that which contains them all, and is the scene of the greatest undertakings, constitutes what we term the habitable earth; and they are the greatest generals who, subduing nations and kingdoms under one sceptre, and one political administration, have acquired dominion over land and sea. It is clear then, that geography is essential to all the transactions of the statesman, informing us, as it does, of the position of the continents, seas, and oceans of the whole habitable earth. Information of especial interest to those who are concerned to know the exact truth of such particulars, and whether the places have been explored or not: for government will certainly be better administered where the size and position of the country, its own peculiarities, and those of the surrounding districts, are understood. Forasmuch as there are many sovereigns who rule in different regions, and some stretch their dominion over others' territories, and undertake the government of different

nations and kingdoms, and thus enlarge the extent of their dominion, it is not possible that either themselves, nor yet writers on geography, should be equally acquainted with the whole, but to both there is a great deal more or less known. Indeed, were the whole earth under one government and one administration, it is hardly possible that we should be informed of every locality in an equal degree; for even then we should be most acquainted with the places nearest us: and after all, it is better that we should have a more perfect description of these, since, on account of their proximity, there is greater need for it. We see there is no reason to be surprised that there should be one chorographer¹ for the Indians, another for the Ethiopians, and a third for the Greeks and Romans. What use would it be to the Indians if a geographer should thus describe Bœotia to them, in the words of Homer:—

The dwellers on the rocks
Of Aulis follow'd, with the hardy clans
Of Hyria, Schœnus, Scolus.²

—Iliad ii, Cowper's translation.

To us this is of value, while to be acquainted with the Indies and their various territorial divisions would be useless, as it could lead to no advantage, which is the only criterion of the worth of such knowledge.

Even if we descend to the consideration of such trivial matters as hunting, the case is still the same; for he will be most successful in the chase who is acquainted with the size and nature of the wood, and one familiar with the locality will be the most competent to superintend an encampment, an ambush, or a march. But it is in great undertakings that the truth shines out in all its brilliancy, for here, while the success resulting from knowledge is grand, the consequences of ignorance are disastrous. The fleet of Agamemnon, for instance, ravaging Mysia, as if it had been the Trojan territory, was compelled to a shameful retreat. Likewise the Persians

¹ Chorography means the description of particular districts.

² Four cities of Bœotia. The present name of Aulis is Vathi, situated on the Strait of Negropont. The modern names of the other three cities are unknown.

and Libyans, [Carthaginians] supposing certain straits to be impassable, were very near falling into great perils, and have left behind them memorials of their ignorance; the former a monument to Salganeus on the Euripus, near Chalcis, whom the Persians slew, for, as they thought, falsely conducting their fleet from the Gulf of Malea [Gulf of Zeitun] to the Euripus; and the latter to the memory of Pelorus, who was executed on a like occasion.¹ At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the coasts of Greece were covered with wrecks, and the emigrations from Æolia and Ionia furnish numerous instances of the same calamity. On the other hand, matters have come to a prosperous termination, when judiciously directed by a knowledge of the locality. Thus it was at the pass of Thermopylæ that Ephialtes is reported to have pointed out to the Persians a pathway over the mountains, and so placed the band of Leonidas at their mercy, and opened to the Barbarians a passage into Pylæ. But passing over ancient occurrences, we think that the late expeditions of the Romans against the Parthians furnish an excellent example, where, as in those against the Germans and Kelts, the Barbarians, taking advantage of their situation, carried on the war in marshes, woods, and pathless deserts, deceiving the ignorant enemy as to the position of different places, and concealing the roads, and the means of obtaining food and necessaries.

As we have said, this science has an especial reference to the occupations and requirements of statesmen, with whom also political and ethical philosophy is mainly concerned; and here is an evidence. We distinguish the different kinds of civil government by the office of their chief men, denominating one government a monarchy, or kingdom, another an aristocracy, a third a democracy; for so many we consider are the forms of government, and we designate them by

¹ Hannibal, on his return to Africa, observed his pilot Pelorus was taking the ships by the coast of Italy, and suspecting him therefore of treachery, caused him to be executed. He did not know at the time the intention of Pelorus to take him through the Strait of Messina, and afterwards, when aware of the excellence of the passage, caused a monument to be raised to the memory of the unfortunate pilot.

these names, because from them they derive their primary characteristic. For the laws which emanate from the sovereign, from the aristocracy, and from the people all are different. The law is in fact a type of the form of government. It is on this account that some define right to be the interest of the strongest. If, therefore, political philosophy is advantageous to the ruler, and geography in the actual government of the country, this latter seems to possess some little superiority. This superiority is most observable in real service.

But even the theoretical portion of geography is by no means contemptible. On the one hand, it embraces the arts, mathematics, and natural science; on the other, history and fable. Not that this latter can have any distinct advantage: for instance, if any one should relate to us the wanderings of Ulysses, Menelaus, and Jason, he would not seem to have added directly to our fund of practical knowledge thereby, (which is the only thing men of the world are interested in,) unless he should convey useful examples of what those wanderers were compelled to suffer, and at the same time afford matter of rational amusement to those who interest themselves in the places which gave birth to such fables. Practical men interest themselves in these pursuits, since they are at once commendable, and afford them pleasure; but yet not to any great extent. In this class, too, will be found those whose main object in life is pleasure and respectability: but these by no means constitute the majority of mankind, who naturally prefer that which holds out some direct advantage. The geographer should therefore chiefly devote himself to what is practically important. He should follow the same rule in regard to history and the mathematics, selecting always that which is most useful, most intelligible, and most authentic.

Geometry and astronomy, as we before remarked, seem absolutely indispensable in this science. This, in fact, is evident, that without some such assistance, it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth; its *climata*, dimensions, and the like information.

As the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall here take for granted and receive as accurate

what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, that its surface is likewise spheroidal, and above all, that bodies have a tendency towards its centre, which latter point is clear to the perception of the most average understanding. However we may show summarily that the earth is spheroidal, from the consideration that all things however distant tend to its centre, and that every body is attracted towards its centre of gravity; this is more distinctly proved from observations of the sea and sky, for here the evidence of the senses, and common observation, is alone requisite. The convexity of the sea is a further proof of this to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but if raised on high, they at once become perceptible to vision, though at the same time further removed. So, when the eye is raised, it sees what before was utterly imperceptible. Homer speaks of this when he says,

Lifted up on the vast wave he quickly beheld afar.

—Odyssey v, Cowper's translation.

Sailors, as they approach their destination, behold the shore continually raising itself to their view; and objects which had at first seemed low, begin to elevate themselves. Our gnomons, also, are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies; and common sense at once shows us that if the depth of the earth were infinite,¹ such a revolution could not take place.

Every information respecting the *climata* is contained in the "Treatises on Positions."

Now there are some facts which we take to be established, viz. those with which every politician and general should be familiar. For on no account should they be so uninformed as to the heavens and the position of the earth,²

¹ Allusion is here made to the memory of Xenophanes of Colophon and Anaximenes his disciple, who imagined the earth bore the form of a vast mountain, inhabited at the summit, but whose roots stretched into infinity. The Siamese at the present day hold a similar idea.

² Meaning, the different appearances of the heavenly bodies at various parts of the earth.

that when they are in strange countries, where some of the heavenly phenomena wear a different aspect to what they have been accustomed, they should be in a consternation, and exclaim,

Neither west
Know we, nor east, where rises or where sets
The all-enlightening sun.

—Odyssey x, Cowper's translation.

Still, we do not expect that they should be such thorough masters of the subject as to know what stars rise and set together for the different quarters of the earth; those which have the same meridian line, the elevation of the poles, the signs which are in the zenith, with all the various phenomena which differ as well in appearance as reality with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle. With some of these matters, unless as philosophical pursuits, they should not burden themselves at all; others they must take for granted without searching into their causes. This must be left to the care of the philosopher; the statesman can have no leisure, or very little, for such pursuits. Those who, through carelessness and ignorance, are not familiar with the globe and the circles traced upon it, some parallel to each other, some at right angles to the former, others, again, in an oblique direction; nor yet with the position of the tropics, equator, and zodiac, (that circle through which the sun travels in his course, and by which we reckon the changes of season and the winds,) such persons we caution against the perusal of our work. For if a man is neither properly acquainted with these things, nor with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle, and such similar elements of mathematics, how can he comprehend the matters treated of here? So for one who does not know a right line from a curve, nor yet a circle, nor a plane or spherical surface, nor the seven stars in the firmament composing the Great Bear, and such like, our work is entirely useless, at least for the present. Unless he first acquires such information, he is utterly incompetent to the study of geography. So those who have written the works entitled "On Ports," and "Voyages Round the World," have performed

their task imperfectly, since they have omitted to supply the requisite information from mathematics and astronomy.

The present undertaking is composed in a lucid style, suitable alike to the statesman and the general reader, after the fashion of my History.¹ By a statesman we do not intend an illiterate person, but one who has gone through the course of a liberal and philosophical education. For a man who has bestowed no attention on virtue or intelligence, nor what constitutes them, must be incompetent either to blame or praise, still less to decide what actions are worthy to be placed on record.

Having already compiled our Historical Memoirs, which, as we conceive, are a valuable addition both to political and moral philosophy, we have now determined to follow it up with the present work, which has been prepared on the same system as the former, and for the same class of readers, but more particularly for those who are in high stations of life. And as our former production contains only the most striking events in the lives of distinguished men, omitting trifling and unimportant incidents; so here it will be proper to dismiss small and doubtful particulars, and merely call attention to great and remarkable transactions, such in fact as are useful, memorable, and entertaining. In the colossal works of the sculptor we do not descend into a minute examination of particulars, but look principally for perfection in the general *ensemble*. This is the only method of criticism applicable to the present work. Its proportions, so to speak, are colossal; it deals in the generalities and main outlines of things, except now and then, when some minor detail can be selected, calculated to be serviceable to the seeker after knowledge, or the man of business.

We now think we have demonstrated that our present undertaking is one that requires great care, and is well worthy of a philosopher.

¹ This work in forty-three books, began where the History of Polybius ended, and was probably continued to the battle of Actium.

LUCIAN

DIALOGUES OF THE GODS
DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME UPON
LUCIAN, THE ICONOCLAST

INTRODUCTION

LUCIAN, THE ICONOCLAST

BY THE REV. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A.

LIFE OF LUCIAN

LUCIAN (Lucianus, or Lycinus, as he sometimes calls himself) was born about A.D. 120, or perhaps a few years later, at Samosata, on the bank of the Euphrates, at that time the capital city of Commagene. What we know of our author's life is chiefly gathered from incidental notices scattered through his numerous writings. Of his youthful days he has given what is probably a truthful account in a piece which he has entitled "The Dream." This appears to have been written in his successful later years (when men are most disposed to be open and honest about their early antecedents), and recited as a kind of prologue to his public readings of his works, before his fellow-citizens of Samosata. He tells us that his parents, who seem to have been in humble circumstances, held a council of the friends of the family to consult what should be done with their boy. They came to the conclusion that a liberal education was not to be thought of, because of the expense. The next best thing, for a lad who had already no doubt given token of some ability, was to choose some calling which should still be of an intellectual rather than a servile character. This is his own account of what took place in the family council:—

"When one proposed one thing and one another, according to their fancies or experience, my father turned to my maternal uncle—he was one of the party, and passed for an excellent carver of Mercuries¹—'It is impossible,' said he, politely, 'in your presence, to give any other art the preference. So take

¹ The figures of Mercury so commonly set up in the streets and at the gates of houses were mere busts without arms, and could not have required any very great amount of art in their production.

this lad home with you, and teach him to be a good stone-cutter and statuary: for he has it in him, and is clever enough, as you know, with his hands.' He had formed this notion from the way in which I used to amuse myself in moulding wax. As soon as I left school, I used to scrape wax together, and make figures of oxen and horses, and men too, with some cleverness, as my father thought. This accomplishment had earned me many a beating from my schoolmasters; but at this moment it was praised as a sign of natural talent, and sanguine hopes were entertained that I should speedily become master of my new profession, from this early plastic fancy. So, on a day which was counted lucky for entering on my apprenticeship, to my uncle I was sent. I did not at all object to it myself: I thought I should find the work amusing enough, and be very proud when I could show my playmates how I could make gods, and cut out other little figures for myself and my special friends. But an accident happened to me, as is not uncommon with beginners. My uncle put a chisel in my hand, and bid me work it lightly over a slab of marble that lay in the shop, quoting at the same time the common proverb, 'Well begun is half done.' But, leaning too hard upon it, in my awkwardness, the slab broke; and my uncle, seizing a whip that lay at hand, made me pay my footing in no very gentle or encouraging fashion; so the first wages I earned were tears."

"I ran off straight home, sobbing and howling, with the tears running down my cheeks. I told them there all about the whip, and showed the wheals; and with loud complaints of my uncle's cruelty, I added that he had done it all out of envy,—because he was afraid I should soon make a better artist than himself. My mother was extremely indignant, and vented bitter reproaches against her brother."

Of course, with the mother in such mood, we readily understand that young Lucian never went back to the shop. "I went to sleep," he says, "with my eyes full of tears, and that very night I had a dream." This dream, which the author goes on to relate, is a reproduction, adapted to suit the circumstances, of the well-known "Choice of Hercules."¹ How far

¹ By Prodicus. See a translation of it in volume four.

Lucian actually dreamed it, or thought he dreamed it, is impossible to say. He was imaginative enough, no doubt, to have pictured it all to himself in his sleep; or a youth who had hit upon so ingenious an explanation of his uncle's beating him was equally capable of inventing a dream for the family edification; or (and this is the most likely supposition) the practised fabulist might have only adopted it as an apposite parable for the audience before whom he related it. The dream was this: Two female figures seemed to have laid hold of him on either side, and struggled so fiercely for the possession that he felt as if he were being torn in two. "The one figure was of coarse and masculine aspect, with rough hair and callous hands, with her robe high-girt, and covered with dust—very like my uncle the stone-cutter when he was polishing his work; the other had a lovely face and graceful bearing, and was elegantly dressed." The first is "Statuary," who offers him, if he will follow her, an ample maintenance, good health, and possibly fame. He is not to be discouraged at her rough appearance; such, at first starting in life, were Phidias, Myron, and Praxiteles. The other graceful lady is "Liberal Education." She reminds him that he had already made some slight acquaintance with her: but much is still wanting. She will make her votary acquainted with all the noblest things which the noblest men in all times have done, and said, and written; she will adorn his soul with temperance, justice, gentleness, prudence, and fortitude; with the love of the beautiful, and the thirst for knowledge. Nay, she will give him that which all men covet—immortality. Her rival can but offer him the work and position of a mere labourer, earning his living by his hands, one of the vulgar herd, obliged to bow before his superiors, and working according to his patrons' taste.¹

Lucian hardly waited, he says, for the termination of this divine creature's speech, before he sprang up, turned his back upon her rival, and threw himself into her embraces. "No doubt," he slyly observes, "the recollection of the flogging

¹ The art of sculpture must have been very much on the decline, both in point of merit and reputation, to lead the writer to speak of it in such slighting terms.

which my brief acquaintance with the other lady had got me the day before contributed not a little to my choice." The rejected claimant gnashed upon him savagely with her teeth, and then, "stiffening like a second Niobe," she was—very appropriately—turned into stone.

Whatever truth there might be in the vision, Lucian's choice was made. How he found the means for the further education that was needful, we are not told; but he got himself trained in some way as a Rhetorician. That science was not only very popular, but its professors, when once they had made themselves a name, were pretty well paid. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius was himself a most liberal patron of this as of other sciences, and maintained public lectures on jurisprudence, with which rhetoric was directly connected, both at Rome and in the provinces.

For some time after his education was completed, he seems to have wandered up and down Ionia, with very precarious means of support, exercising his profession, among other places, at Antioch, where he must have come into contact more or less with the new sect called "Christians." By degrees he got into some practice as an advocate: but not meeting with the success which he hoped for in that line, he took to composing orations for others to deliver, and to giving lectures upon Rhetoric and the art of public speaking. In this latter capacity he travelled a good deal, as was the custom for all professors in those days, and delivered his lectures and declamations in the towns of Syria, Greece, Italy, and Gaul. It was in the last-named country—always a rich harvest-field, as we gather from Juvenal, for travelling orators and lecturers on law—that he seems to have been most successful, and he continued there for ten years.

Whether he eventually grew tired of his profession, as some expressions in his writings would lead us to think, or whether he had made enough money by it to enable him to devote himself to the more strictly literary life to which his tastes and abilities alike pointed,—he gave up the study and the practice of Rhetoric in about his fortieth year. He cast off his old mistress, he says, because he had grown tired of her false ways: "she was always painting her face and tiring

her head," and otherwise misbehaving herself, and he would endure it no longer. She had led him a very unquiet life of it, he declares, for some years. He makes poor Rhetoric, indeed, say in her defence in the same Dialogue, and with at least some degree of truth, that she had taken him up when he was young, poor, and unknown, had brought him fame and reputation, and lastly in Gaul had made him a wealthy man. It is possible that the declining reputation in which the science, owing to the abuses introduced by unworthy professors, was beginning to be held throughout Greece, may have been one great reason for his withdrawing from it.

He delivered his last lecture on the subject at Thessalonica,—where he would again meet with, or at least hear something of, the members of the Christian Church. Thence he returned to his native town of Samosata, found his father still alive there, and soon removed him and his whole family into Greece. He devoted the rest of his life to the study of philosophy and to his literary work, living in good style at Athens.

Lucian still travelled occasionally, and on one occasion paid a visit to the reputed oracle of the arch-impostor Alexander, at Abonoteichos in Paphlagonia, of which he gives a very graphic account. This man exercised an extraordinary influence over the credulity not only of his own countrymen but of strangers also. Lucian's zeal against such sham pretenders here brought him into some trouble, and went near to cost him his life. Alexander, who had specially invited him to an audience, held out his hand, according to custom, for his visitor to kiss; whereupon Lucian, by way of active protest against an imposture which he had already denounced, bit it so hard as actually to lame him for some time. The Prophet affected to treat the thing as a practical joke, but, when Lucian was leaving the country, gave private orders to the captain and crew of the vessel to fling the malicious unbeliever overboard—a fate which he only escaped through the unusual tender-heartedness of the Asiatic captain.

He seems to have become poorer again in his later years, and to have occasionally taken up his old profession. But at last the Emperor Marcus Aurelius offered him an official ap-

pointment (something like that of Recorder, or Clerk of the Courts) at Alexandria in Egypt. His chief duties were, as he tells us, to preside over the courts of justice and to keep the records. He thought it necessary to write an "Apology" for accepting this position; for it happened that he had just put forth an essay (which will come under notice hereafter) on the miseries of a state of dependence on great men, and was conscious that his enemies might take occasion to sneer at so stout a champion of independence thus consenting to sell himself for office. He must have felt like Dr. Johnson when he consulted his friends as to the propriety of his accepting the pension offered by Lord Bute, after the bitter definitions of the words "pension" and "pensioner" which he had given in the first edition of his Dictionary. The promotion did not come until, as he says, he "had one foot already in Charon's boat," for he must have been above seventy years old when he received it: but the emoluments were fairly good; he was allowed to perform the office by deputy, so that it did not interfere with his busy literary leisure at Athens, and he lived many years to enjoy it. He is said to have been a hundred years old when he died, but nothing certain is known of the date or manner of his death. It has been conjectured with much probability that in his later years he was troubled with the gout, a disorder to which he more than once makes allusion in his writings, very much in the tone of one who spoke from painful experience; and he has left two humorous mock-tragic dramatic scenes in which Gout is personified as the principal character. The torments of which she is the author to mankind are amusingly exaggerated. Philoctetes is made out to have been a sufferer, not from the bite of the snake or from the poisoned arrow, but simply from gout in his foot—enough to account for any amount of howls and lamentations, such as are put in his mouth by Sophocles; and Ulysses must have died by the same enemy, and not, as was fabled, by the poisonous spine of a sea-urchin.

THE DIALOGUES OF LUCIAN

The best known and the most popular of our author's multifarious writings are his "Dialogues," many of which would form admirable dramatic scenes, containing more of the

spirit of comedy, as we moderns understand it, than either the broad burlesque of Aristophanes or the somewhat sententious and didactic tone of Terence. The "Dialogues of the Gods," in which the old mythological deities are introduced to us as it were in undress, discussing their family affairs and private quarrels in the most familiar style, were composed with a double purpose by their writer. He not only seized upon the absurd points in religious fable as presenting excellent material for burlesque, but he indulged at the same time in the most caustic form of satire upon the popular belief, against which, long before his day, the intellect of even the heathen world had revolted. It is possible that his apprenticeship, brief as it was, to the manufacture of stone Mercuries help to make him an iconoclast. The man who assists in the chiselling out of a god must know more or less that he "has a lie in his right hand." The unhesitating faith in which (apparently) he accepts the truth of all the popular legends about Jupiter and his court, treating them in the most matter-of-fact and earnest way, and assuming their literal truth in every detail, makes the satire all the more pungent. To have sifted the heap of legends into false and true, or to have explained that this was only a poetical illustration, or that an allegorical form of truth, would not have damaged the popular creed half so much as this representation of the Olympian deities under all the personal and domestic circumstances which followed, as necessary corollaries, from their supposed relations to each other. We need not wonder that the charge of atheism was hurled against him by all the defenders, honest or dishonest, of the national worship. Many as had been the blows struck against it by satirists and philosophers, Lucian's was, if not the hardest, the most deadly of all.

Some of the shorter and more amusing of these "Dialogues of the Gods," as well as of the "Dialogues of the Dead," are here given entire, and are a fair specimen of the humour of the rest.

THE DIALOGUES OF LUCIAN

DIALOGUES OF THE GODS

JUPITER AND CUPID

CUPID. WELL, even if I have done wrong, pray forgive me, Jupiter; I am only a child, you see, and don't know any better.

JUPITER. Child, indeed, Master Cupid! you who are older than Iapetus! Because you don't happen to have grown a beard yet, and because your hair isn't grey, you are to be considered a child, I suppose—old and crafty as you are.

CUP. Why, what great harm have I done you—old as you say I am—that you should think of putting me in the stocks?

JUP. Look here, then, you mischievous imp! is this a trifle—the way in which you have disgraced me? There is nothing you have not turned me into—satyr, bull, gold pieces, swan, eagle; but you never yet have made a single woman fall in love with me for myself, nor have I ever been able to make myself agreeable in any quarter in my own person, but I have to use magic in all such affairs, and disguise myself. And after all, it's the bull or the swan they fall in love with; if they see me, they die of terror.

CUP. Yes, no wonder; they are but mortal, you know, Jupiter, and can't endure your awful person.

JUP. How is it, then, that Apollo gets them to fall in love with him?

CUP. Well—Daphne, you know, ran away from him, for all his flowing locks and smooth face. But if you want to make yourself attractive, you mustn't shake your ægis, and carry your thunderbolt about with you, but make yourself look as pleasant as you can,—let your hair hang down on both sides of your face in curls,—put a fillet round it,—get a purple dress,—put on gilded sandals,—walk with the fashionable step, with a pipe and timbrel before you: you'll see, the women will

run after you then, faster than the Mœnads do after Bacchus.

JUP. Away with you—I couldn't condescend to be attractive by making myself such a fool as that.

CUP. Very well, Jupiter, then give up love-making altogether; (*looking slyly at him*)—*that's* easy enough, you know.

JUP. Nay, I must go on with my courting, but you must find me some less troublesome fashion than that. And upon this sole condition, I let you off once more.

VULCAN AND APOLLO

VULCAN. I say, Apollo—have you seen this young bantling that Maia has just produced? What a fine child it is!—smiles at everybody, and gives plain token already that it will turn out something wonderful—quite a blessing to us all.

APOLLO. A blessing, you think, eh, Vulcan? that child—who is older, in point of wickedness, than old father Iapetus himself!

VUL. Why, what harm can a baby like that do to anybody?

AP. Just ask Neptune,—he stole his trident. Or ask Mars,—the brat slipped his sword out of its sheath as quickly as you please; to say nothing of myself, and he has gone off with my bow and arrows.

VUL. What! that infant? who can hardly stand? the one in the cradle there?

AP. You'll soon find out for yourself, Vulcan, if he pays you a visit.

VUL. Why, he has paid me a visit, just now.

AP. Well, have you got all your tools safe? none of them missing, is there?

VUL. (*looking round*). No—they are all right, Apollo.

AP. Nay, look carefully.

VUL. By Jove! I can't see my anvil!

AP. You'll find it somewhere in his cradle, I'll be bound.

VUL. Why, he's as handy with his fingers as if he had studied thieving before he was born!

AP. Ah! you haven't heard him yet talking, as pert and as glib as may be. Why, he wants to run errands for us all! Yesterday, he challenged Cupid to wrestle with him, and tripped up both his legs in some way, and threw him in a second.

Then, when we were all applauding him, and Venus was hugging him after his victory, he stole her cestus; and while Jupiter was laughing at that, he was off with his majesty's sceptre. Ay, and if the thunderbolt did not happen to be heavy, and considerably hot withal, he would have stolen that too.

VUL. You make the child out to be a prodigy.

AP. Not only that—he knows music already.

VUL. How did he find that out?

AP. He got hold of a dead tortoise somewhere, and made its shell into an instrument: fitted it with pins, and put a bridge to it, and stretched seven strings across it. Then he sang to it,—something really quite pretty, Vulcan, and in good tune: I was absolutely jealous of him, though, as you know, I have practised the lyre some time. Maia declares, too, that he never stays in heaven at night, but goes down into the Shades, out of curiosity—or to steal something there, most likely. He has got wings, too, and has made himself a rod of some miraculous power, by which he guides and conducts the dead below.

VUL. Oh, I gave him that, myself, for a toy.

AP. So, in return, to show his gratitude, your anvil—

VUL. By the by, you remind me. I must go and look if I can find it, as you say, anywhere in his cradle.

JUPITER, ÆSCULAPIUS, AND HERCULES

JUPITER. Be quiet, do, both of you—Hercules and Æsculapius—quarreling with one another, just like mortals. It's really quite unseemly, this kind of conduct; not at all the thing in Olympian society.

HERCULES. But do you mean to say, Jupiter, this apothecary fellow is to sit above me?

ÆSCULAPIUS. Quite fair I should; I'm the better deity.

HERC. In what way, you staring ass? Because Jupiter struck you with his lightning for doing what you had no right to do, and now out of sheer pity has made you into an immortal?

ÆSC. Have you forgot, Hercules, the bonfire that you made of yourself upon Mount Cæta, that you taunt me with having been burnt?

HERC. Our lives were considerably different. I, the son of Jove, who undertook all those labours to benefit my genera-

tion, conquering monsters and punishing tyrants: while you went about like a vagabond, collecting roots, of some little use perhaps to dose a few sick folk, but never having done a single deed of valour.

Æsc. All very fine; when I healed your sores, sir, when you came up here the other day half roasted between the effects of the tunic and the fire together. Well, if I haven't done much, at least I was never a slave, as you were—never carded wool in Lydia in a woman's dress—never had my face slapped by Omphale with her gilt slipper: and never went mad and killed my wife and children.

HERC. If you don't stop that abuse, sir, you'll pretty soon find out that your immortality is not of much use to you. I'll take and pitch you head-first out of heaven; and it will be more than Pæan himself can do to mend you when your skull's broken.

JUP. Stop! I tell you both again, and don't annoy the company, or I'll turn you both out of the hall. But it's quite fair, Hercules, that Æsculapius should sit above you—because he died first.

JUNO AND LATONA

JUNO (*meeting her rival with a disdainful half-bow*). A lovely pair of brats indeed, Latona, you have presented Jupiter with!

LATONA (*with a sweeping curtsey*). Oh, we cannot all of us be expected, your majesty, to produce such a beauty as Vulcan!

JU. (*rather disconcerted*). Well, lame as he is, he is very useful. He's a charming artist, and has decorated heaven for us with excellent taste. Then he has married Venus, and she is wonderfully fond of him too. But those children of yours—why, that girl's quite a masculine creature, only fit for the country. And now this last expedition of hers into Scythia—everybody knows her horrible way of living there—killing her visitors and eating them—as bad as those cannibals, the Scythians themselves. Then Apollo,—he pretends, I'm told, to know everything—archery, and music, and medicine, and magic to boot; and has set up his prophecy-shops, one at Delphi, and one in Claros, and one at Didymœ; and cheats the people who

come to consult him, with his enigmas and *double-entendres*, which can be turned into answers to the question both ways, so that he can never be proved wrong. He makes it pay, no doubt; there are always fools enough in the world ready to be cheated by a fortune-teller. But wiser persons see through him well enough, for all his humbugging prodigies. Prophet as he is, he could not divine that he was to kill his favourite with a quoit; or foresee that Daphne would run away from him in spite of his pretty face and his curls. I don't see, for my own part, how you could have been considered more fortunate in your children than poor Niobe.

LA. Oh yes; I know how you hate to see my two darlings—the cannibal and the charlatan, as you are pleased to call them—in the company of the gods: especially when her beauty is the subject of remark, or when he plays after dinner, to the admiration of everybody.

JU. Really, Latona, you make me laugh. Admire his playing indeed! Why, if the Muses had only thought proper to decide fairly, Marsyas ought to have skinned *him*, for he was unquestionably the better musician of the two. As it was, poor fellow, he was cheated, and lost his life by their unjust verdict. And as for your beautiful daughter,—yes, she was so beautiful, that when she knew she had been spied by Actæon, for fear that the young man should publish her ugliness, she set the dogs at him. And I might add that her occupation as a midwife is not over-maidenly.

LA. You are mighty proud, Juno, because you are the consort of Jove, and so think you can insult us all as much as you please. But it will not be very long before I shall see you in your usual hysterics, when his majesty goes down to earth in disguise upon one of his intriguing rambles.

VENUS AND CUPID

VENUS. How in the world is it, Cupid, that you, who have mastered all the other gods, Jupiter and Neptune and Apollo and Rhea—and even me, your mother—yet you never try your hand upon Minerva? In her case, your torch seems to lose its fire, your quiver has no arrows, and your skill and cunning is all at fault.

CUPID. I am afraid of her, mother; she has such a terrible look, and such stern eyes, and is so horribly man-like. Whenever I bend my bow and take aim at her, she shakes her crest at me and frightens me so that I absolutely shake, and the arrow drops out of my hands.

VEN. But was not Mars even more terrible? Yet you disarmed and conquered him.

CUP. Oh, he gives in to me of his own accord, and invites me to attack him. But Minerva always eyes me suspiciously, and whenever I fly near her with my torch, "If you dare to touch me," she says, "I swear by my father, I'll run my spear through you, or take you by the leg and pitch you into Tartarus, or tear you limb from limb." She has often threatened me so; and then she looks so savage, and has got a horrible head of some kind fixed upon her breast, with snakes for hair, which I am dreadfully afraid of. It terrifies me, and I run away whenever I see it.

VEN. You are afraid of Minerva and her Gorgon, you say—you, who are not afraid of Jupiter's thunderbolt! And pray, why are the Muses still untouched, as if they were out of the reach of your arrows? Do they shake their crests too, or do they display any Gorgon's heads?

CUP. Oh, mother! I should be ashamed to meddle with them—they are such respectable and dignified young ladies, always deep in their studies, or busy with their music; I often stand listening to them till I quite forget myself.

VEN. Well, let them alone; they *are* very respectable. But Diana, now—why do you never aim a shaft at her?

CUP. The fact is, I can't catch her; she is always flying over the mountains; besides, she has a little private love-affair of her own already.

VEN. With whom, child?

CUP. With the game—stags and fauns—that she hunts and brings down with her arrows; she cares for nothing else, that I know of. But as for that brother of hers, great archer as he is, and far as he is said to shoot—

VEN. (*laughing*). Yes, yes, I know, child—you've hit *him* often enough.

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD

INTRODUCTION

LESS original than the Olympian Dialogues,—for their idea must be allowed to be borrowed from Homer, while the inclination to moralise upon the vanity of earthly riches, and honours, and beauty, and the work of that great leveller Death, is common enough,—these have perhaps been even more popular. An imitation in great measure themselves, they have found imitators amongst the moderns, in their turn, who have shown considerable ability. The “Dialogues of the Dead” of Fontenelle and of Lord Lyttelton still find readers, and these imitations have charmed many to whom the original was unknown in any other way than by name. The Dialogues of Fenelon, composed for the instruction of his pupil the Duke of Burgundy, were, again, an imitation of those of Fontenelle, but are somewhat more didactic, as we should expect, and less lively. But perhaps the most striking modern work for the idea of which we are indebted to the Greek satirist is the “Imaginary Conversations” of Walter Savage Landor.

Some three or four of the most striking of this series must content our readers here. The following, although it does not stand first in the common order of arrangement, seems to form the best introduction to the series.

CHARON AND HIS PASSENGERS

CHARON. Now listen to me, good people—I’ll tell you how it is. The boat is but small, as you see, and somewhat rotten and leaky withal: and if the weight gets to one side, over we go: and here you are crowding in all at once, and with lots of luggage, every one of you. If you come on board here with all that lumber, I suspect you’ll repent of it afterwards—especially those who can’t swim.

MERCURY. What’s best for us to do then, to get safe across?

CHA. I’ll tell you. You must all strip before you get in,

and leave all those encumbrances on shore: and even then the boat will scarce hold you all. And you take care, Mercury, that no soul is admitted that is not in light marching order, and who has not left all his encumbrances, as I say, behind. Just stand at the gangway and overhaul them, and don't let them get in till they've stripped.

MERC. Quite right; I'll see to it.—Now, who comes first here?

MENIPPUS. I—Menippus. Look—I've pitched my wallet and staff into the lake; my coat, luckily, I didn't bring with me.

MERC. Get in, Menippus—you're a capital fellow. Take the best seat there, in the stern-sheets, next the steersman, and watch who gets on board.—Now, who's this fine gentleman?

CHARMOLAUS. I'm Charmolaus of Megara—a general favourite. Many a lady would give fifty guineas for a kiss from me.

MERC. You'll have to leave your pretty face, and those valuable lips, and your long curls and smooth skin behind you, that's all. Ah! now you'll do—you're all right and tight now: get in.—But you, sir, there, in the purple and the diadem,—who are you?

LAMPICHUS. Lampichus, king of Gelo.

MERC. And what d'ye mean by coming here with all that trumpery?

LAMP. How? Would it be seemly for a king to come here unrobed?

MERC. Well, for a king, perhaps not—but for a dead man, certainly. So put it all off.

LAMP. There—I've thrown my riches away.

MERC. Yes—and throw away your pride too, and your contempt for other people. You'll infallibly swamp the boat if you bring all that in.

LAMP. Just let me keep my diadem and mantle.

MERC. Impossible—off with them too.

LAMP. Well—anything more? because I've thrown them all off, as you see.

MERC. Your cruelty—and your folly—and your insolence—and bad temper—off with them all!

LAMP. There, then—I'm stripped entirely.

MERC. Very well—get in.—And you fat fellow, who are you, with all that flesh on you?

DAMASIAS. Damasias, the athlete.

MERC. Ay, you look like him: I remember having seen you in the games.

DAM. (*Smiling*). Yes, Mercury; take me on board—I'm ready stripped, at any rate.

MERC. Stripped? Nay, my good sir, not with all that covering of flesh on you. You must get rid of that, or you'll sink the boat the moment you set your other foot in. And you must take off your garlands and trophies too.

DAM. Then—now I'm really stripped, and not heavier than these other dead gentlemen.

MERC. All right—the lighter the better: get in.

[In like manner the patrician has to lay aside his noble birth, his public honours, and statues, and testimonials—the very thought of them, Mercury declares, is enough to sink the boat; and the general is made to leave behind him all his victories and trophies—in the realms of the dead there is peace. Next comes the philosopher's turn.]

MERC. Who's this pompous and conceited personage, to judge from his looks—he with the knitted eyebrows there, and lost in meditation—that fellow with the long beard?

MEN. One of those philosophers, Mercury—or rather those cheats and charlatans: make him strip too; you'll find some curious things hid under that cloak of his.

MERC. Take your habit off, to begin with, if you please—and now all that you have there,—great Jupiter! what a lot of humbug he was bringing with him—and ignorance, and disputatiousness, and vainglory, and useless questions, and prickly arguments, and involved statements,—ay, and wasted ingenuity, and solemn trifling, and quips and quirks of all kinds! Yes—by Jove! and there are gold pieces there and impudence and luxury and debauchery—oh! I see them all, though you are trying to hide them! And your lies, and pomposity, and thinking yourself better than everybody else—away with all that, I say! Why, if you bring all that aboard, a fifty-oared galley wouldn't hold you!

PHILOSOPHER. Well, I'll leave it all behind then, if I must.

MEN. But make him take his beard off too, Master Mercury; it's heavy and bushy, as you see; there's five pound weight of hair there, at the very least.

MERC. You're right. Take it off, sir!

PHIL. But who is there who can shave me?

MERC. Menippus there will chop it off with the boat-hatchet—he can have the gunwale for a chopping-block.

MEN. Nay, Mercury, lend us a saw—it will be more fun.

MERC. Oh, the hatchet will do! So—that's well; now you've got rid of your goatishness, you look something more like a man.

MEN. Shall I chop a bit off his eyebrows as well?

MERC. By all means; he has stuck them up on his forehead, to make himself look grander, I suppose. What's the matter now? You're crying, you rascal, are you—afraid of death? Make haste on board, will you?

MEN. He's got something now under his arm.

MERC. What is it, Menippus?

MEN. Flattery it is, Mercury—and a very profitable article he found it, while he was alive.

PHIL. (*in a fury*). And you, Menippus—leave your lawless tongue behind you, and your cursed independence and mocking laugh; you're the only one of the party who dares laugh.

MERC. (*laughing*). No, no, Menippus—they're very light, and take little room; besides, they are good things on a voyage. But you, Mr. Orator there, throw away your rhetorical flourishes, and antitheses, and parallelisms, and barbarisms, and all that heavy wordy gear of yours.

ORATOR. There, then—there they go!

MERC. All right. Now then, slip the moorings. Haul that plank aboard—up anchor, and make sail. Mind your helm, master! And a good voyage to us!—What are you howling about, you fools? You, Philosopher, specially? Now that you've had your beard cropped?

PHIL. Because, dear Mercury, I always thought the soul had been immortal.

MEN. He's lying! It's something else that troubles him, most likely.

MERC. What's that?

MEN. That he shall have no more expensive suppers—nor, after spending all the night in debauchery, profess to lecture to the young men on moral philosophy in the morning, and take pay for it. That's what vexes him.

PHIL. And you, Menippus—are you not sorry to die?

MEN. How should I be, when I hastened to death without any call to it? But, while we are talking, don't you hear a noise as of some people shouting on the earth?

MERC. Yes, I do—and from more than one quarter. There's a public rejoicing yonder for the death of Lampichus; and the women have seized his wife, and the boys are stoning his children; and in Sicyon they are all praising Diophantus the orator for his funeral oration upon Crato here. Yes—and there is Damasias's mother wailing for him amongst her women. But there's not a soul weeping for you, Menippus—you're lying all alone.

MEN. Not at all—you'll hear the dogs howling over me presently, and the ravens mournfully flapping their wings, when they gather to my funeral.

MERC. Stoutly said. But here we are at the landing-place. March off, all of you, to the judgment-seat straight; I and the ferryman must go and fetch a fresh batch.

MEN. A pleasant trip to you, Mercury. So we'll be moving on. Come, what are you all dawdling for? You've got to be judged, you know; and the punishments, they tell me, are frightful—wheels, and stones, and vultures. Every man's life will be strictly inquired into, I can tell you.

The Cynic Menippus, introduced to us in this amusing dialogue,—“a dog of the real old breed,” as Lucian calls him, “always ready to bark and bite”¹—is a great favourite with the author, and reappears very frequently in these imaginary conversations. He was a disciple of Diogenes, and had been a usurer in earlier life, but having lost his wealth by the roguery of others, at last committed suicide. The banter with which he treats Charon in the little dialogue which follows is very humorous.

¹ The term “Cynic,” applied to that school of philosophy, is derived from the Greek word for “dog.”

CHARON AND MENIPPUS

CHARON (*calling after MENIPPUS, who is walking off*).
Pay me your fare, you rascal!

MENIPPUS. Bawl away, Charon, if it's any satisfaction to you.

CHA. Pay me, I say, for carrying you across!

MEN. You can't get money from a man who hasn't got it.

CHA. Is there any man who has not got an obolus?

MEN. I know nothing about anybody else; I know I haven't.

CHA. (*catching hold of him*). I'll strangle you, you villain! I will, by Pluto! if you don't pay.

MEN. And I'll break your head with my staff.

CHA. Do you suppose you are to have such a long trip for nothing?

MEN. Let Mercury pay for me, then; it was he put me on board.

MERCURY. A very profitable job for me, by Jove! if I'm to pay for all the dead people.

CHA. (*to Men.*). I shan't let you go.

MEN. You can haul your boat ashore, then, for that matter, and wait as long as you please; but I don't see how you can take from me what I don't possess.

CHA. Didn't you know you had to pay it?

MEN. I knew well enough; but I tell you I hadn't got it. Is a man not to die because he has no money?

CHA. Are you to be the only man, then, who can boast that he has crossed the Styx gratis?

MEN. Gratis? Not at all, my good friend,—when I baled the boat, and helped you with the oar, and was the only man on board that didn't howl.

CHA. That has nothing to do with the passage-money; you must pay your obolus. It's against all our rules to do otherwise.

MEN. Then take me back to life again.

CHA. Yes—a fine proposal—that I may get a whipping from Æacus for it.

MEN. Then don't bother.

CHA. Show me what you've got in your scrip there.

MEN. Lentils, if you please, and a bit of supper for Hecate.

CHA. (*turning to MERCURY in despair*). Where on earth did you bring this dog of a Cynic from, Mercury?—chattering as he did, all the way across, cutting his jokes and laughing at the other passengers, and singing while they were all bemoaning themselves.

MERC. Didn't you know, Charon, who your passenger was? A most independent fellow, who cares for nobody. That's Menippus.

CHA. (*shaking his fist at him as he moves off*). Well, let me only catch you again!

MEN. (*looking back and laughing*). Ay, if you catch me; but 'tis hardly likely, my good friend, that you'll have me for a passenger twice.

MERCURY AND CHARON

MERCURY. Let us have a reckoning, if you please, Mr. Ferryman, how much you owe me up to this present date, that we mayn't have a squabble hereafter about the items.

CHARON. By all means, Mercury—nothing like being correct in such matters; it saves a world of unpleasantness.

MERC. I supplied an anchor to your order—twenty-five drachmæ.

CHA. That's very dear.

MERC. I vow to Pluto I gave five for it. And a row-lock thong—two obols.

CHA. Well, put down five drachmæ and two obols.

MERC. And a needle to mend the sail. Five obols I paid for that.

CHA. Well, put that much down too.

MERC. Then, there's the wax for caulking the seams of the boat that were open, and nails, and a rope to make halcyards of,—two drachmæ altogether.

CHA. Ay; you bought those worth the money.

MERC. That's all, if I've not forgotten something in my account. And now, when do you propose to pay me?

CHA. It's out of my power, Mercury, at this moment ; but if a pestilence or a war should send people down here in considerable numbers, you can make a good thing of it then by a little cheating in the passage-money.

MERC. So I may go to sleep at present, and put up prayers for all kinds of horrible things to happen, that I may get my dues thereby?

CHA. I've no other way of paying you, Mercury, indeed. At present, as you see, very few come our way. It's a time of peace, you know.

MERC. Well, so much the better, even if I have to wait for my money a while. But those men in the good old times—ah! you remember, Charon, what fine fellows used to come here,—good warriors all, covered with blood and wounds, most of them! Now, 'tis either somebody who has been poisoned by his son or his wife, or with his limbs and carcase bloated by gluttony,—pale spiritless wretches all of them, not a whit like the others. Most of them come here owing to their attempts to overreach each other in money matters, it seems to me.

CHA. Why, money is certainly a very desirable thing.

MERC. Then don't think me unreasonable, if you please, if I look sharp after your little debt to me.

MENIPPUS IN HADES

When the Cynic philosopher has been admitted into the region of shadows, he makes himself very much at home there. In another of these dialogues he cross-examines all the officials whom he meets, with the air of a traveller anxious for information ; and his caustic wit does not spare the dead a whit more than it had spared the living. He begs Æacus to show him some of "the lions" in this new region. He professes great surprise at seeing the figures which once were Agamemnon, Ajax, and Achilles, now mere bones and dust ; and asks to be allowed just to give Sardanapalus, whom the Cynic hates especially for his luxury and debauchery, a slap in the face ; but Æacus assures him that his skull is as brittle as a woman's. Even the wise men and philosophers, he finds, cut no better figure here. "Where is Socrates?" he asks his guide. "You

see that bald man yonder?" says Æacus. "Why, they are all bald alike here," replies Menippus. "Him with the flat nose, I mean." "They've all flat noses," replies Menippus again, looking at the hollow skulls round him. But Socrates, hearing the inquiry, answers for himself; and the new-comer into the lower world is able to assure the great Athenian that all men now admit his claim to universal knowledge, which rests, in fact, on the one ground of being conscious that man knows really nothing. But he learns something more about the Master of the Sophists from a little dialogue which he has with Cerberus.

MENIPPUS AND CERBERUS

MENIPPUS. I say, Cerberus (I'm a kind of cousin of yours, you know—they call me a dog), tell me, by the holy Styx, how did Socrates behave himself when he came down among ye? I suppose, as you're a divinity, you can not only bark, but talk like a human creature, if you like?

CERBERUS (*growling*). Well, when he was some way off, he came on with a perfectly unmoved countenance, appearing to have no dread at all of death, and to wish to make that plain to those who stood outside the gates here. But when once he got within the archway of the Shades, and saw the gloom and darkness; and when, as he seemed to be lingering, I bit him on the foot (just to help the hemlock), and dragged him down, he shrieked out like a child, and began to lament over his family and all sorts of things.

MEN. So the man was but a sophist after all, and had no real contempt for death?

CERB. No; but when he saw it must come, he steeled himself to meet it, professing to suffer not unwillingly what he must needs have suffered anyhow, that so he might win the admiration of the bystanders. In short, I could tell you much the same story of all those kind of people: up to the gate they are stout-hearted and bold enough, but it is when they get within that the trial comes.

MEN. And how did you think I behaved when I came down?

CERB. You were the only man, Menippus, who behaved worthy of your profession—you and Diogenes before you. You both came here by no force or compulsion, but of your own accord, laughing all the way, and bidding the others who came with you howl and be hanged to them.

MENIPPUS AND MERCURY

MENIPPUS. I say, Mercury, where are all the handsome men and women? Come—show me about a little, I am quite a stranger here.

MERCURY. I haven't time, really. But look yonder, on your right; there are Hyacinthus, and Narcissus, and Nireus, and Achilles,—and Tyro, and Helen, and Leda; and, in short, all the celebrated beauties.

MEN. I can see nought but bones and bare skulls,—all very much alike.

MERC. Yet all the poets have gone into raptures about those very bones which you seem to look upon with such contempt.

MEN. Anyway, show me Helen; for I should never be able to make her out from the rest.

MERC. This skull is Helen.¹

MEN. And it was for this that a thousand ships were manned from all Greece, and so many Greeks and Trojans died in battle, and so many towns were laid waste!

MERC. Ay, but you never saw the lady alive, Menippus, or you would surely have said with Homer,—

No marvel Trojans and the well-armed Greeks
For such a woman should long toils endure:
Like the immortal goddesses is she.

—*Homer's Iliad*, iii.

If one looks at withered flowers which have lost their colour, of course they seem to have no beauty; but when they are in bloom, and have all their natural tints, they are very beautiful to see.

¹ "Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come."—*Hamlet*, act v. sc. 1.

MEN. Still I do wonder, Mercury, that the Greeks should never have bethought themselves that they were quarrelling for a thing that was so short-lived, and would perish so soon.

MERC. I have really no leisure for moralising, my good Menippus. So pick out a spot for yourself, and lay yourself down quietly; I must go and fetch some more dead people.

ADIOGENES AND MAUSOLUS

ADIOGENES. Prithee, my Carian friend, why do you give yourself such airs, and claim precedence of all of us?

MAUSOLUS. In the first place, my friend of Sinope, by reason of my royal estate; I was king of all Caria, ruled over much of Lydia, reduced several of the islands, advanced as far as Miletus, and subdued most part of Ionia. Then, because I was handsome and tall, and a good warrior. Most of all, because I have a magnificent monument set up over me at Halicarnassus,—no man that ever died has the like; so beautifully is it finished, men and horses sculptured to the life out of the finest marble; you can scarce find even a temple like it. Don't you think I have a right to be proud of all this?

ADIOG. Because of your kingdom, you say?—and your fine person,—and the great weight of your tomb?

MAUS. Yes; that is what I am proud of.

ADIOG. But, my handsome friend (ha-ha!), you haven't much left of that strength and beauty that you talk about. If we asked any one to decide between our claims to good looks, I don't see why they should prefer your skull to mine. Both of us are bald and naked,—both of us show our teeth a good deal,—neither of us have any eyes,—and our noses are both rather flat. The tomb, indeed, and the marble statues, the men of Halicarnassus may show to their visitors, and boast of them as ornaments of their land; but as to you, my good friend, I don't see what good your monument does *you*: unless you may say this—that you bear a greater weight upon you than I do, pressed down as you are by all those heavy stones.

MAUS. Are none of my glories to profit me, then? And are Mausolus and Diogenes to stand here on equal terms?

ADIOG. No; not exactly equal, most excellent sir; not at all.

Mausolus has to lament when he remembers his earthly lot, how happy he was,—and Diogenes can laugh at him. And Mausolus can say how he had the tomb built for him at Halicarnassus by his wife and sister; while Diogenes does not know—and does not care—whether his body had any burial at all, but can say that he left behind him the reputation among the wise of having lived a life worthy of a man,—a loftier monument, base Carian slave, than yours, and built on a far safer foundation.

CHARON'S VISIT TO THE UPPER WORLD

MERCURY. What are you laughing about, Charon? And what has made you leave your boat and come up here into our parts? You don't very often favour us with a visit.

CHARON. Well, I had a fancy, Master Mercury, to see what kind of a thing human life was, and what men do in the world, and what it is that they have to leave behind them, that they all bemoan themselves so when they come down our way. For you know that never a one of them makes the voyage without tears. So I begged leave of absence from Pluto, just for a day, like Protesilaus, and came up here into the daylight. And I think myself very lucky in falling in with you; you'll be good enough to act as my guide, I know, and go round with me and show me everything—you know all about it.

MERC. Really, Mr. Ferryman, I can't spare time. I have to go off to do an errand for Jupiter upon earth. He's very irascible, and if I loiter on the road, I fear he may banish me entirely into your dark dominions, or do to me as he did to Vulcan lately,—take me by the foot and pitch me down from heaven, and so I shall have to go limping round with the wine, like him.

CHA. And will you let me go wandering about the earth and losing my way—you, my old friend and messmate? It wouldn't be amiss for you to remember, my lad, how I have never made you bale the boat, or even pull an oar, but you lie snoring on the deck, for all those great broad shoulders; or if you find any talkative fellow among the dead men, you chatter with him all the way over, leaving a poor old fellow like me to pull both oars myself. By your father's beard, now, my good

Mercury, don't go away! Show me round this upper world, that I may see something before I go home again. Why, if you leave me here by myself, I shall be no better than the blind men. Just as they go stumbling about in the darkness, so do I in this confounded light. Oblige me now, Mercury, do—and I'll never forget the favour.

MERC. This job will cost me a beating, I plainly foresee—all the wages I shall get for acting as guide will be blows. But I suppose I must oblige you: what can a fellow do when a friend presses him? But as to seeing everything thoroughly, Mr. Ferryman, that's impossible—it would take a matter of years. There would have to be a hue and cry sent after me by Jupiter, as a runaway; and it would stop your business in the service of Death, and Pluto's empire would suffer, by your stopping all transportation there for some time; and then Æacus would be in a rage about his fees, when he found not an obol coming in. But I'll manage to let you see what's best worth seeing.

CHA. You know best, Mercury; I'm a perfect stranger here, and know nought about this upper world.

MERC. First, then, we must find some commanding spot, where you can see everything from. If you could have got up into heaven, now, there would have been no trouble—you might see it all from there, as from a watch-tower. However, since your ghostly functions are a bar to your admittance into Jove's dominions, we must look out for a good high mountain.

CHA. You know what I used to say when we were aboard my boat. Whenever the wind took us on the quarter, and the waves rose high, then you, in your ignorance, would be calling to me to shorten sail, or let go the sheet, or run before the wind,—and I always bid you all sit still and hold your tongues—I knew what was best to be done. So now do you just take what course you think best: you are captain now; and I, as all passengers should do, will sit still and do as you tell me.

MERC. Very right. I know the best plan, and I'll soon find a good look-out place. Would Caucasus do? or is Parnassus higher—or Olympus higher still? When I look at Olympus, a bright idea comes into my head; but you must help me, and do your fair share of the work.

CHA. Give your orders—I'll help as far as I can.

MERC. The poet Homer says that the sons of Aloeus—they were but two, and they were only youths—designed once upon a time to wrench up Ossa and put it on Olympus, and then Pelion on top of that—thinking so to get a good ladder to climb into heaven by. Now those lads suffered for it, and it served them right, for it was a very insolent trick. But you see we are not scheming anything against the gods, so why should not we two roll these mountains one on top of the other, so as to get a good view from a commanding position.

CHA. And could we two by ourselves lift and carry Pelion or Ossa?

MERC. Why not, Charon? you don't mean to say that we are weaker than those two boys,—we, who are divinities?

CHA. No; but the thing itself seems, to my mind, impossible.

MERC. Very likely; because you're so illiterate, Charon, and destitute altogether of the poetic faculty. But that grand Homer makes a road into heaven in two lines—he claps the mountains together so easily. I wonder, too, that this should seem to you such a prodigy, when you know how Atlas bears the weight of the whole globe himself, and carries us all on his back. I suppose you've heard, too, of my brother Hercules, how he supplied Atlas's place once, just to allow him a little rest, while he took the weight upon his own shoulders?

CHA. Yes, I've heard all about it; but whether it be true or not, you and the poet only know.

MERC. Quite true, I assure you, Charon: why should such clever men tell lies? So let's set to work upon Ossa first, as the poet and his verse recommend;

And on Ossa's top
They rolled the leafy Pelion.

—*Homer's Odyssey*, xi.

Do you see how easy it is? We've done it capitally—and most poetically. Now let me get up and see whether it will do, or whether we must build a little higher yet. Ah! we are still

under the shadow of Olympus, I see. Only Ionia and Lydia are visible yet on the east: on the west, we can't see further than Italy and Sicily: on the south, only this side the Danube, —and Crete only indistinctly down here. I say, Ferryman, we shall have to move Cæta too, and then clap Parnassus on top of all.

CHA. So be it; only take care we don't attempt too much, —I mean, beyond what poetical probability allows. Homer will prove a very unlucky architect for us, if we tumble down with all this weight upon us and break our skulls.

MERC. Never fear—it's all quite safe. Move Cæta now —now up with Parnassus. There—now I'll get up and look again. All right—I can see everything. Now you come up too.

CHA. Lend us a hand then, Mercury—it's no joke getting up such a place as this.

MERC. Well, if you want to see everything, you know, Charon, you can't expect to gratify your curiosity and never risk your neck. But take fast hold of my hand—and take care you don't put your foot upon a slippery stone. Well done! —now you're safe up. Parnassus, luckily, has two tops, so you can sit upon one and I on the other. Now look all round you and see what you can see.

CHA. I see a large extent of land, and as it were a great lake all round it, and mountains and rivers bigger than Cocytus or Phlegethon,—and men,—oh! such little creatures! and some kind of hiding-places or burrows they have.

MERC. Those are cities, which you call burrows.

CHA. Do you know, Mercury, we seem to have done no good, after all, in moving Parnassus, and Cæta, and these other mountains?

MERC. Why so?

CHA. Because I can see nothing distinctly from this height. I wanted not merely to see cities and hills, as one does in a picture, but men themselves, and what they do, and what they talk about,—as I did when you met me first and found me laughing; I had just been uncommonly amused at something.

MERC. And what was that, pray?

CHA. Some man had been invited by one of his friends to dinner, I conclude, for to-morrow. "I'll be sure to come,"

says he—and just as he was speaking, down comes a tile from the roof somehow, and kills him. So I laughed to think that he couldn't keep his appointment. And now I think I had better get down again, that I may see and hear better.

MERC. Stay where you are. I've a remedy for this difficulty too. I can make you marvellously keen-sighted, by using a certain incantation from Homer, invented for this special purpose. The moment I say the words, you'll find no more difficulty as to vision, but will see everything quite plain.

CHA. Say them, then.

MERC.

Lo! from this earthly mist I purge thy sight,
That thou may'st know both gods and men aright.

—*Homer's Iliad*, v.

How now? Can you see better?

CHA. Wonderful! Lynceus himself would be blind in comparison! Now explain things to me, and answer my questions. But first, would you like me to ask you a question out of Homer, that you may see I'm not quite ignorant of the great poet?

MERC. How come you to know anything about him,—a sailor like you, always at the oar?

CHA. Look here now,—that's very disrespectful to my craft. Why, when I carried him across after he was dead, I heard him rhapsodising all the way, and I remember some of it. A terrible storm we had that voyage, too. He began some chant of not very happy omen for seafaring folk,—how Neptune gathered the clouds, and troubled the sea—stirring it up with his trident, like a ladle—rousing all the winds and everything else. He so disturbed the water with his poetry, that all on a sudden we had a perfect tempest about us, and the boat was wellnigh upset. Well, then, he fell sick himself, and vomited up great part of his poem,—Scylla and Charybdis, and the Cyclops, and all. I had no great trouble in picking up a few scraps of the contents. So, as the poet has it,—

Who is yon stalwart warrior, tall and strong,
By head and shoulders towering o'er the throng?

MERC. That's Milo of Crotona, the great wrestler. The Greeks are applauding him because he has just lifted a bull and is carrying it across the arena.

CHA. They'll have much better reason to applaud me, Mercury, when I get hold of Milo himself, as I shall do very shortly, and clap him on board my boat, when he comes down our way after having been thrown by that invincible wrestler, Death; no back-trick that he knows can manage *him*. He'll weep and groan then, we shall see, when he remembers all his laurels and triumphs; but now he is very proud because they all admire him for carrying the bull. Do you suppose, now, that man ever expects to die?

[The visitor from the lower world, under Mercury's instruction, surveys many other scenes in human life. Space and Chronology are, of course, set entirely at defiance under the potent incantation which Mercury has borrowed from the poet—as they are, indeed, sometimes by poets themselves. He sees Cyrus planning his great expedition against Cræsus; overhears the latter monarch holding his celebrated conversation with Solon on the great question of human happiness; is shown the Scythian Tomyris on her white horse, the savage queen who is to give the Persian conqueror “his fill of blood.” He sees the too fortunate Polycrates receiving back his lost ring **from** the fisherman, and learns from his guide (who has heard it as a secret from Clotho) the miserable end of the tyrant's prosperity. Then Mercury shows him the now desolate site of what once was Nineveh, and tells him how the great Babylon is fated to perish in like manner. As for the remains of Mycenæ, and Argos, and, above all, of the renowned Troy,—these Mercury is afraid to show his friend, lest when he returns to the Shades below he should strangle the poet for his exaggerations. The whole dialogue is very fine, and in a higher tone than is Lucian's wont to use, though no writer could use it with better effect.]

CHA. Strange and multiform indeed is the crowd I see, and human life seems full of trouble. And their cities are like hives of bees, in which each has his own sting, and therewith attacks his neighbour; and some, like wasps, plunder and harry

the weaker. But who are that crowd of shadows, invisible to them, who hover over their heads?

MERC. These, Charon, are Hope, and Fear, and Madness; and Lusts, and Desires, and Passions, and Hate, and suchlike. Of these, Folly mingles with the crowd below, and is, as one may say, their fellow-citizen. So also Hate, and Anger, and Jealousy, and Ignorance, and Distress, and Covetousness. But Fear and Hope hover above them; and the first, when she swoops down upon them, drives them out of their minds, and makes them cower and shudder; whilst Hope, still fluttering over them, the instant one thinks he has surely laid hold of her, flies up out of his reach, and leaves him balked and gaping, like Tantalus below, when the water flies his lips. Also, if you look close, you will see the Fates too hovering over them, each with her spindle, whence are drawn slender threads which are attached to all.

